R E P O R T R E S U M E S

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THE NEGRO IN AMERICA, WHAT MUST BE DONE, A PROGRAM FOR ACTION.

BY- ELLIOTT, OSBORN

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THIS IN-DEPTH JOURNALISTIC REPORT ON THE CURRENT RACIAL CRISIS ANALYZES THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE RECENT GHETTO RIOTS, THE HOSTILE REACTIONS OF WHITES, AND THE FAILURE OF AMERICANS TO MAKE A TOTAL COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE. THE REPORT REVIEWS THE NEW NEGRO NATIONALISM, CONGRESSIONAL OBJECTIONS TO FURTHER SOCIAL LEGISLATION, AND THE EFFECT OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM ON ECONOMIC AND LEGISLATIVE PROGRAMS. IT DISCUSSES "BLACK POVERTY" AND GHETTOS, THE NEW ROLE OF BUSINESS IN SLUM ERADICATION, NEGRO-INITIATED SELF-HELP PROJECTS, AND THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES. ONE PART OF THE REPORT OUTLINES A 12-POINT PROGRAM FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION WHICH IS BASED ON THE PREMISE THAT AMERICAN PRIORITIES SHOULD BE SHIFTED TO GIVE THE WAR ON POVERTY AND DISCRIMINATION THE SAME URGENCY AS THE WAR IN VIETNAM. NEEDED ARE ACTIVE PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP, INFLATION CONTROL AND REALLOCATION OF FEDERAL FUNDS, STATE AND LOCAL PROGRAMS AND SERVICES, AND GREATER INVOLVEMENT BY THE PRIVATE SECTOR. OTHER STEPS INCLUDE GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN JOB TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS, REFORM OF WELFARE SYSTEMS, THE CREATION OF UNIFORM STANDARDS FOR BENEFITS, HOUSING, AND EDUCATION, BETTER RIOT CONTROL, AND PROPER POLICE TRAINING. ALSO, EXISTING CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS MUST BE VIGOROUSLY ENFORCED AND AGENCIES GIVEN ADEQUATE FUNDS. LONGER RANGE GOALS ARE FULL EMPLOYMENT, WELFARE POLICIES WHICH GUARANTEE MINIMUM NECESSITIES, DISPERSAL OF NEGRO GHETTOS, QUALITY INTEGRATED EDUCATION, SOUTHERN DEVELOPMENT, AND IMPROVED HEALTH. THIS ARTICLE IS PUBLISHED IN NEWSWEEK, VOLUME 70, NUMBER 21, NOVEMBER 20, 1967. (NH)

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Newsweek

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

What Must Be Done

A PROGRAM FOR ACTION

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Newsweek

A TIME FOR ADVOCACY

In reporting the evolution and revolution of the Negro in America, NEWSWEEK's approach has always been exploratory, analytical and descriptive. We have probed the twists and turns of the civil-rights movement, examined leaders new and old as they flashed and sometimes fizzled across the scene, analyzed the present and potential response of white America to the aspirations of its black citizens.

This week, in a special report entitled The Negro in America—What Must Be Done, NEWSWEEK deliberately departs from its traditional method of covering the news. In the 22-page section that follows, there is analysis aplenty—but this time there is advocacy as well. The reason for this marked change of approach is that the editors have come to believe that at this particular time, on this particular subject, they could not fulfill their journalistic responsibility, or their responsibility as citizens, by simply reporting what X thinks of Y, and why Z disagrees.

In part we were led to this new approach by the events of last summer, when ghetto streets exploded in violence, fires flamed the urban skies, an orgy of looting and rioting seized cities across the land, and America was brought face to face with its central racial dilemma. In part, NEWSWEEK's new advocacy stems from the peculiarly inadequate and worrisome response to those awful events—the call for a day of national prayer; the appointment of a commission to make its final report, quite possibly, in the middle of the riots of 1968; the subsequent hardening of positions by white and black alike. And in part, NEWSWEEK's role as advocate grows out of the results of two months of intensive reporting from coast to coast.

Since late summer, a task force of editors, writers and reporters has been touring the country, visiting the "experts"—on campus, at every level of government, in corporations and foundations, in church and state alike. They started with a question: what to do? And they came back with the conclusion that nobody really knows—not the planners, not the police, not the educators, not the politicians nor the clergy nor the press—not, indeed, the Negroes themselves.

NEWSWEEK's most ambitious editorial project culminates this week in this special report. It includes a review of the scattershot programs now being attempted; it reports on the multiplicity of projects now on the drawing boards, and it mirrors the conflicts and confusion that mark the efforts of the nation's best thinkers to come to grips with the problem. The special report concludes (page 20) with a Program for Action—a comprehensive set of solutions to the racial problem that gnaws at the very soul of America.

The entire project is founded on a number of premises.

The first is that America has so far failed to deliver to many citizens, and particularly to many Negroes, that measure of equality that lies at the heart of the American idea.

A second premise is that America has the ability to make that delivery: surely the most prosperous and powerful nation in history, which concerns itself with poverty, discrimination and deprivation around the world, can successfully apply its vast resources to these widespread ills at home.

A third premise is more arguable: that America has, or can generate, the *will* to solve its racial problems.

For many a long year, Northern whites could look down their noses at the South, charging that white Southerners suffered from such social astigmatism that they could not see the world around them, or even themselves, with any degree of clarity. Then, suddenly last summer—and a couple of summers before—the fire next time became the fire this time, and many Northerners came to realize that their own vision was similarly impaired.

And what has been the result of this realization? Has it been a newly discovered urge to face the racial problem and do something about it? In some segments of society—most notably in and around the precincts of big business—the answer has been a heartening "yes." But in other segments—most notably the Congress, which tends to reflect the way the national wind is blowing (or at least how the politicians read it)—the answer has been a disturbing "no."

What makes this particularly disturbing is that NEWSWEEK's editors are convinced that in order to deal with the racial crisis effectively, there must be a mobilization of the nation's moral, spiritual and physical resources and a commitment on the part of all segments of U.S. society, public and private, to meet the challenging job. To get this kind of commitment, the editors believe there must be strong and unflinching political leadership from the top.

Many will agree with parts of NEWSWEEK's program; few with the whole. We do not pretend to have all the answers, and we may be proved wrong on some of those we do propose. But we hope that this Program for Action will stimulate thoughts and deeds that will not only point the way to a more peaceful racial prospect, but will finally bring those eighteenth-century truths, which all Americans supposedly hold self-evident, into twentieth-century reality.

—Osborn Elliott, Editor

Drawings by Robert Weaver

WHAT MUST BE DONE

The Cold Fact Is That the Negro in America Is Not Really in America

As America went to the polls last week, there was a special crackle of crisis in the autumn air.

In the midst of a corrosive war in Vietnam and a skittish inflation, the ugly issue of race became the dominant concern of the election season. After four summers of fiery rioting, color polarized the voters into black and white blocs in three major northern cities. The results—the election of Negro mayors in Cleveland and Gary, Ind., and the defeat of a white backlasher in Boston—were hopeful signs. But they were too close for comfort. The elections were a stark reflection of the racial confrontation building for a generation in the heart of urban America. And they did little to allay the growing fear that the nation is drifting inexorably toward a showdown between its white majority and its black minority.

The narrow victories of Negro mayoral candidates Carl Stokes in Cleveland and Richard Hatcher in Gary, Ind., and the defeat of white-hope Louise Day Hicks in Boston, demonstrated once again the resilience of the American political process—even under the sting of white backlash. But the challenge facing the country today goes far beyond who will control City Hall—a black-white choice that will increasingly haunt the cities into the 1980s. The real issue is not just whether Negroes can get elected, but whether they can be brought into full participation in the society. The returns on that question are not yet in. A sense of fatalism grips much of the nation's white and Negro leadership. They know something must be done—and done quickly—to make equality real for blacks, and particularly for the restive black underclass. They doubt that the nation is ready to do it.

The problem is urgent—as the exploding cities and the incendiary rhetoric make inescapably plain. But most of the talk about the racial situation is profoundly pessimistic. "We face an almost universal sense of impotence," says one Washington thinker—and his glum observation is shared in government offices and academic cloisters, in ghetto storefronts and white middle-class living rooms. "I've got hope, but not a hell of a lot of faith," says a black militant in Detroit, speaking for more influential Americans than he imagines.

Today, top priority most often goes to assigning blame for the national paralysis of will. Most liberals, already disgusted

by the war in Vietnam, complain that Lyndon Johnson has abdicated leadership on America's top domestic problem. The White House counters that it has produced programs but a punitive Congress has tried to tie its hands. Congressional conservatives blame Negro extremists and the Negroes blame white racist attitudes. And nobody seems to be able to break the cycle.

Yet the current drift and demoralization cannot be allowed to continue indefinitely. Millions of middle-class and working-class Negroes are making steady advances, but others—a restless, tindery *lumpenproletariat*—are drifting further behind. There is no Arcadian tranquillity the nation could recapture if only the black firebrands and the white backlashers would hold their tongues.

Since 1940, 3.7 million Southern Negroes have migrated North, many to the cities, and they are still coming at the rate of 200,000 a year. Right now, Washington, D.C. (63 per cent), Newark (51 per cent), and Gary Ind. (55 per cent) have Negro majorities, and within fifteen years they are likely to be joined by Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Oakland, Philadelphia, St. Louis and Trenton. One out of every nine Americans today is Negro, but the black birth rate is exploding. According to the census clock, the 200 millionth American will be born sometime next week—and the chances are one in six that the baby will be black. If he is, the odds are roughly even that he will live part of his childhood in a broken home, three in five that the public dole will support him sometime before he reaches eighteen, two in five that he will drop out of school.

'What shocked me was how normal it looked to have those soldiers outside Hudson's'

The black riots—the most sustained spasm of civil disorder in the violent history of a violent country—have already changed America's comfortable image of itself. Speculation about black guerrilla warfare in the streets is already a staple of conversation among reasonable men. The likelihood that National Guard or Federal troops will be put on special alert as next summer's riot season approaches is all but taken for granted among many. So is a degree of black militance and white hostility unheard of even a few years ago. "What shocked me most about the riot," says a Detroit matron who watched the flames from her balcony, "was how *normal* it seemed to have those soldiers standing guard outside Hudson's department store when I went shopping the next day." And so it did.

By every reliable index, America will be living with its new style of normalcy for some time to come. This year post-summer racial skirmishes—especially in the schools—have erupted from Newark to Los Angeles. The first November explosion of the riot era shook Winston-Salem, N.C., and correspondents who accompanied Michigan's Gov. George Romney on his recent seventeen-city ghetto tour returned with the conviction that winter riots are a distinct possibility. National Guard units are getting special training. Local police are beefing up their arsenals.

In Los Angeles, for example, the cops are experimenting with a 20-ton armored personnel carrier that can tote twenty fully equipped men and boasts a .30-caliber machine gun, tear-gas launchers, a smoke screen device, chemical fire extinguishers, hoses and a siren so high-powered that its wail can temporarily stun rioters. "When I look at this thing," says one L.A. police planner, "I think, 'My God, I hope we never have to use it.' But we might as well be prepared." Besides the tank, the Los Angeles police are considering adopting electric nets, foam guns, tranquilizers, super water pistols and Mace, the disabling spray. The Detroit police are clamoring for eight armored personnel carriers, and in Cleveland the last word is a helicopter (to spot rooftop snipers), lightweight armor-plated vests and a secret twenty-page riot control plan.

Ominous as the preparations sound, they are generally in keeping with the expectations of responsible men. No one

knows for sure what direction the black rebellion may take in coming years and few expect huge Detroit-style riots to continue indefinitely. But continued serious trouble of one sort or another is the universal prediction. "A lot of violence is coming and there isn't much you can do about that," says one White House staffer. "Terrorism is a real danger," reports a Negro physician active in New York's ghettos. "They're studying at night: do-it-yourself bombs are the current fad. There will be buildings coming down." Says urban specialist Daniel Patrick Moynihan, himself something of an optimist: "There will be an increased elevation of low-level rioting and a degree of terrorism. Why shouldn't we have it? Why don't we believe what the Negro says he will do?"

These men are not alarmists by trade or temperament. Nor are men like the Urban League's Whitney Young and Bayard Rustin, the organizer of the 1963 March on Washington and one of America's most astute social theorists. Whites like to think of them as "responsible" black leaders, and there is a new note of plaintiveness in their voices these days. "There are no longer militants and moderates in the Negro leadership," says Young. "There are the sane and the insane—the builders and the burners—those within and without society." Adds Rustin, gazing at a dreary Harlem roofscape from his office on 125th Street: "I have spoken against the riots but they are nothing compared with this society's inability to move."

America spends $75 billion for defense but allots only $7 billion for welfare

Achieving that movement while there is still time is the heart of the problem. Why can't history's most affluent, technologically advanced society act to make the black man a full participant in American life? The answer is a meld of ignorance and indifference, bigotry and callousness, escapism and sincere confusion. But the inescapable truth is that so far America hasn't wanted to. On that point, there is, indeed, an American consensus—spelled out rather clearly in the way a democratic society allocates its resources. America spends $75 billion for defense but only $7 billion on welfare for the poor, $17.4 billion for tobacco and liquor but only $1.6 billion for the war on poverty, $3.2 billion for cosmetics and toiletries but only $400 million a year for the training of adult unemployed. In the early, nonviolent days of the Negro revolution, an effective coalition of interests including liberals, labor and the clergy was formed to achieve basic constitutional rights for Negroes. But there has never been a widespread alliance

of black and white to accomplish the harder task: the economic emancipation of Negroes. To achieve it will require a revolution—in white values and in the way blacks have been conditioned to look at the world. But a start must be made.

The American Negro's problem is one both of class and of color. "No one is poor in America because he is white," says Federal District Judge Wade H. McCree of Detroit. "Many people are poor because they are black." McCree is right—and the reason for it is entwined in the history of the Negro in America. The psychic knot is as old as slavery and unraveling it is a challenge the country as a whole has not yet been able to face. No one knows how to separate neatly the class problem from the color problem—or if, in fact, the color problem is soluble in the context of America as we know it. Few want to admit that for the bulk of Americans, blackness is synonymous with inferiority.

'It is a restless new type of proletariat—and it revolts against the city itself'

This feeling clouds even the white perception of what the black riots are all about. Enlightened opinion—shared by men conducting the Presidential investigation of the disorders—is that the riots are essentially a protest against the conditions of Negro life, the denial of dignity, unemployment, bad housing, bad city services. Still, surveys show that most whites are able neither to absorb nor to accept even that judgment. The prevalent white opinion is that outside agitators and subversive troublemakers are to blame.

Obviously, black-power and Communist organizers were in the field. They may even have sparked some riots and prolonged others. But no conspiracy theory will explain four summers of rioting in more than 100 cities. If it had been large numbers of whites rioting in city after city, the nation would certainly have absorbed the message more easily and taken steps to redress their grievances. But the rioters are black, not white, representatives of a minority, not the majority, their fury turned inward against their own neighborhoods, not against the world outside. So the message from the black slums simply hasn't registered.

In fairness to whites, there are reasons why the riots are difficult to put into perspective. One is that the target of the black revolt is somewhat different from the targets of the more familiar white working-class upheavals of the American past. "Before," says Harvard's John Kenneth Galbraith, "people came into the cities drawn by industry. If unsatisfied, they struck the company, the mines, the steel mills, the auto companies. Collective bargaining emerged. Now, no one expects redress in this fashion. It is a new type of proletariat, a restless mass, pressed out of the Mississippi Delta and Puerto Rico, not drawn by jobs but by welfare standards and the amenities of city life. This new proletariat is not tied to the steel mills, the auto companies—so it revolts against the city."

'Maybe,' says one Administration man, 'democracy can't stand prosperity'

Beyond that, there is the over-all mood of the country—an irritable impatience which the riots at once reflect and exacerbate. Some like to blame the restive state of the Union on the war in Vietnam or on the untimely death of John F. Kennedy. Undoubtedly both are part of the story, but neither provides a totally satisfactory explanation. More than anything, perhaps, America is distracted by its own uneven affluence. "Maybe," muses one top Administration figure, "democracy can't stand prosperity." Whatever its implications for democracy, the current boom (now in its 81st consecutive month) makes it harder than ever for many white Americans to face the truth about the Negro problem and makes blacks more impatient than ever for their slice of the pie. "What do they want?" whites keep asking themselves—a logical question for those (including some Negroes) who have been rewarded beyond their wildest expectations by a system now under attack.

So impatient black desperation and white inflexibility conspire to prevent reconciliation and to block reform. The new mood of black consciousness spreading among young Negroes is generally a hopeful development—but unsophisticated whites see it as another frightening example of Negro intractability and some black militants use it to rationalize their own racism. Similarly, the working-class white in one of Waukegan's ethnic enclaves may be as hobbled in his view of the larger world as the ghetto black—but most Negroes (and white liberals) do not grant him even that degree of common humanity. The end result is a growing cynicism about the capacity of America to weather the racial crisis—and an increasing appetite for confrontation.

"This thing is becoming two armed camps, but it's a risk black people are willing to take," says Detroit's Rep. John Conyers, the most outspoken black congressman. "Look, we started the whole civil-rights business with two Presidents who both told Martin Luther King we can't get a civil-rights bill—it's impossible. But the pressure of events made it possible. Confrontation is both inevitable and creative. There's nobody who can call in anybody and turn it off."

Much as they abhor violence, many Negro and white leaders agree. "You get a new stop sign after four accidents, a flood wall after three floods," says Whitney Young. "America has traditionally reacted to tragedy and crisis." With the cold logic of his profession, one of the country's top city planners adds: "What it's going to take to change the priorities is violence, winter violence." "Change," a colleague adds, "will come about because of heightened stress. But it's a dangerous path because the country has a choice—and it could choose repression."

Talk of repression in one form or another is widespread today. Radicals mutter about black rebels being shunted into concentration camps—and their conversation reflects a real element of fear, not just agitators' hokum. There are advocates of garrisoning the ghettos and of limiting freedom of speech in the face of a clear and present danger. "What is remarkable," says political scientist James Q. Wilson, "is that there has not yet emerged a McCarthy of race: a figure with a mass audience . . . who would say boldly and demagogically what millions of people are already thinking."

Clearly, many Northern whites today are thinking of repression—much as Southern segregationists always have. Whether their thoughts will ever be translated into political reality is anybody's guess. But American politics is already

reflecting their mood—or, at least, the politicians are telling themselves that they are reflecting the public temper. They are probably right. Every public man feels obliged at some point or another to deliver a homily about the innate kindness or the conscience of the American people, but nearly all shake their heads when they ponder the application of those virtues to the current racial situation.

After a spate of creative activism, the Johnson Administration has turned circumspect about the Negro problem. Washington prefers these days to talk about the racial question in terms of the problems of the cities or of the poor—valid enough frameworks for legislation but an index of mood, too. "You have to have a sense of timing," says one Presidential adviser. "You don't go out and make provocative speeches such as 'Where are we going, America?' when the country is deeply resistant. We can't tell them to hire those who have been burning down the ghettos. White America is fed up."

"The President has made enough pronouncements," snaps another Administration topsider. "If you want to know what happened to leadership, I'll tell you. We lost 47 Congressional seats in 1966—that broke the back." The Administration's analysis of the Congressional mood is accurate enough. The Johnson years have produced a torrent of social legislation unprecedented since the Depression—civil-rights bills, medicare, aid to education, the war on poverty, urban innovations like model cities—and for the time being Congress has had enough. Bitterness about Negro rioting is only one coefficient in the Congressional equation. The war, its concomitant budget deficit and the pressure for a tax increase have heightened resistance to more domestic legislation. And, with an election year coming up, Republicans are intensifying their classic objections to the burgeoning Federal bureaucracy.

'You can't start anything in Congress, you've got to start with the Boss'

That is the way things are. Whether they must be that way is altogether another question. "Today, Pericles couldn't turn things around by an exertion of leadership," says one of the President's Washington defenders. But his critics are numerous and caustic. "If Dwight David Eisenhower had met the riots of this summer the way the President did—with the institution of a study and the unleashing of prayer—the liberal community would have risen in a body," observes the acerb Galbraith, chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. Grumbles Congressman Conyers: "You can't start anything in Congress. You've got to start with the Boss." How should the boss act? "I'd identify with the problem very closely," says one big-city official. "I'd be out there touring the ghettos all across the country. I'd scream and kick and yell and shatter my lance in Congress a bit." Massachusetts' Edward Brooke, the Senate's only Negro (and a Republican), concludes: "The President has failed miserably on this. He's not been able to educate the people to what it's all about."

So, inevitably, the buck lands on the President's desk—and properly stops there. Questions of national will ultimately reduce themselves to a President's responsibility to marshal the country's resources not only in terms of a legislative program but by stimulating debate and ordering national priorities. "The President," writes historian Hans Morgenthau, "by constitutional arrangement and political tradition, is the molder of the national will, the educator of the people, the guardian of its interests, and the protagonist of its ideals. The President is the incarnation of the nation-in-action; when the nation wants to know what it is about, it looks to the President to find out."

When the country looks to Lyndon Johnson these days, it gains the inescapable impression that Vietnam is America's top priority. Mr. Johnson uses the bully pulpit of the Presidency (not to mention the Rose Garden) time and again to tell a painfully divided nation why it is fighting and must continue to fight in Southeast Asia. No amount of resistance—and it is growing—can blunt his resolve. Few question his personal resolve on the Negro problem (he is, after all, the President who proclaimed "We Shall Overcome!" in a speech three years ago). But his public posture here projects none of the sense of urgency that marks his Vietnam crusading.

'I used to think we could afford guns and butter, but we're not even getting oleo'

The immediate obstacle to an all-out assault on the problems of the Negro and the poor is obviously Vietnam. The President has promised guns and butter, and on the White House scales, the butter has been substantial, indeed: $16.6 billion in new programs for the poor and the ghettos from January 1964 through June 1967, a budget request of $16.8 billion for fiscal 1968 alone. Yet, somehow, the impression of inadequacy prevails. "I used to feel the U.S. could afford both guns and butter—but we aren't even getting oleo," gibes Whitney Young, once the President's staunchest admirer among Negro leaders, now having second thoughts. Young's point is that America's No. 1 domestic problem—whether it is defined as the problem of the Negro, or of the cities or of the poor—deserves the same priority of urgency as Vietnam.

Granting it that urgency would be a significant first step, but only a first step. True solutions will require a degree of sophistication and awareness on the part of white and black Americans far beyond the current pattern. It will require a heightened sense of responsibility among blacks. And, for whites, sacrifice, too. "It is a delusion to presume that the self-interest of middle-class Americans links them with the needs of the poor in the cities," Mayor Hugh Addonizio of riot-blooded Newark told the President's riot commission. "For rising expectations are not only a part of ghetto life, but a part of American life. Affluent Americans are gripped more by the need to buy a vacation home, a sports car for their college-bound son and a second color television set than they are with sharing their affluence with the poor." But more sharing there will have to be.

Fuller understanding of the realities of Negro life, the role of jobs, housing, welfare and education, the Negro's responsibility for bootstrap effort and the private sector's responsibility to provide those bootstraps—crucial aspects of the over-all problem examined on the following pages—is imperative. So is the necessity to modify some of America's cherished self-conceptions. "Equality of opportunity" will have to be redefined—as Lyndon Johnson did in his speech at Howard University on June 4, 1965: "Not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and as a result." To produce those results is going to require a comprehensive effort unparalleled in the American experience—acceptance of more government activism on all levels, of the social responsibilities of business and philanthropy, of sustained subsidization and quite possibly even of the application of quotas limiting the number of Negroes in neighborhoods and schools to

insure enduring integration. In short, homefront America must begin seriously thinking about the unthinkable: how genuinely to assimilate its black minority.

A handful of planners has already undertaken the assignment. One of the most provocative is bow-tied, 36-year-old Anthony Downs of Chicago, a consultant to the Rand Corp., and to several Washington agencies, including the President's riot commission. Downs has war-gamed the future of American ghettos, refining the available approaches to "strategies" and projecting them to their logical conclusions. The outlook is grim, Downs feels, unless radical new approaches are taken. He points out, for example, that the nation's ghettos are growing by 480,000 to 560,000 Negroes a year; nothing that Federal, state or local authorities are doing, says Downs, is checking the trends that concentrate poor blacks in the central cities and more affluent whites in the suburbs. Any program that significantly improves life in the ghettos will only draw more poor Negroes to the central cities—and intensify the social pressures—unless it is accompanied by a parallel effort to disperse Negroes to other parts of the cities and the suburbs.

Each week, three Chicago blocks tip from mostly white to mostly black

And dispersal, he believes, requires more than fair housing laws. Numerous states and localities already have fair-housing laws, but, Downs points out, they have not really helped disperse the black population. Part of the reason is what Downs calls his "Law of Cultural Dominance." Simply put, Downs's law holds that middle-class and working-class whites are concerned not with maintaining racial purity in their neighborhoods and institutions but with setting the tone. Whites fear that large numbers of Negroes may change that tone. Thus, he believes, once the Negro population in a neighborhood or apartment house or school approaches half, whites feel they have lost control. Even if the existing white residents hold on, new whites fail to fill the natural vacancies that crop up—and the neighborhood rapidly turns all black. In Chicago, he reports nearly three blocks a week are changing from predominantly white to predominantly black.

In Downs's view, some sort of quota system may well be needed to limit the number of Negroes in city and suburban neighborhoods to assure white residents and prospective residents that the neighborhood will remain integrated. Beyond that, dispersal to the suburbs must be undertaken across the board; otherwise, those suburbs that admit Negroes while others remain closed will turn into new ghettos. And subsidies of some sort, says Downs, would have to be devised to enable the already cost-strapped suburbs to accept new Negro residents and give them the social services they need.

Few—including Downs—think that the kind of comprehensive dispersal system he envisages will be adopted in America. Another Rand Corp. analyst, in fact, projects a kind of "natural apartheid" for the next few generations with the concentration of blacks in the cities intensifying the exodus of white residents and businesses. This futurist foresees an ominous era of black-white tensions peaking in the 1980s as Negroes achieve increasing control of city governments—as they now have in Cleveland and Gary. Once they hold these levers of power, he says, the blacks—as the Irish and Italians before them—will finally gain their political goals and social acceptability. But it will be 40 years, the Rand man feels, before the integrated city can begin to be glimpsed.

The futurists' predictions may be either too pat or too pessimistic. But they are a useful index of the staggering dimensions of the racial problem facing the nation today. And the prospects in the melancholy racial climate of autumn 1967 are not promising. The hard fact is that whites have yet to show their commitment to social justice for the Negro. And Negroes, out of a deepening despair that whites ever will do so, are falling more and more into a mood of angry disillusion called "thinking black."

THINKING BLACK

In the restive city ghettos, a new sense of pride—and an impatience for power

"Thinking black" is Huey Newton and his rage—a rage so blinding he can look on white America comfortably only through the cross hairs of a gun. "Guns are very, very political," says Newton, the 25-year-old "defense minister" of an Oakland, Calif., Negro splinter group called the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. "A gun makes me immediately equal to anyone in the world." Not quite. Before dawn one October morning, Newton staggered into an Oakland hospital, clutching at a hole in his belly. Behind him lay two cops who had rousted him out of his car for a routine stop-and-frisk. One was dead, the other wounded. Newton—himself hit in the exchange—was charged with both shootings.

"Thinking black" is the kids with their "natural" coifs and their Afro clothes and their lessons in Swahili, taking a joy in blackness as exaggerated as the shame of blackness has always been in white America. It is the young elders of CORE—a mostly white and militantly integrationist group scarcely three years ago—studying a map of Indonesia and pondering quite seriously whether America's urban ghettos, too, can be forged into an independent "island republic." It is the reverie of tall, angular civil-rights lawyer Howard Moore, 35, stepping off a plane in Dar es Salaam, telling a traveling companion, "This is it, I'm home, baby"—and sustaining himself back in the U.S. on the dream that he will someday repatriate to the motherland.

And "thinking black" is a perfectly reasonable sort like Donald R. Hopkins going to bed one night a Negro and waking up the next morning a black man. Hopkins, at 30, is making it: he is assistant to the executive vice chancellor at Berkeley. But making it, for increasing numbers of the middle-class Negro young, no longer means taking flight from the problems of the black poor. Hopkins is not interested in guns or costumes or going back to Africa. But he has come to believe that Negroes must separate in spirit before they can integrate in fact —that they must break their old ties of dependency on whites, develop political and economic sinew of their own and then

move for integration as a "coalescence of equals." This view seems to frighten whites only when it is advertised as "black power"—a label the new black thinkers nonetheless heartily accept. "I've seen my wife come home crying because of the police stopping her on the street and asking her if she's a prostitute," says an Indianapolis poverty worker. "As a human being, I believe in human power. But as a black man, I have to believe in black power because I've lived under white power too long."

Thinking black today remains more style than substance, more mood than program—but it commands white America's attention simply because it is so pervasively there. Whether or not it is the majority view is neither measurable nor relevant: it is the operative mood of both the alienated ghetto young who make riots and the new Negro leaders who increasingly shape the public discourse about what is to be done.

'To think black is to say I'm going to save myself'

The first premise of thinking black is that America is after all a racist society—a judgment that may not do justice to the *white man's motives but certainly describes* the results. "We all grew up with the feeling that somehow Mr. Charley was going to save us—a 'rescue fantasy,' in psychoanalytic terms," says Dr. Price M. Cobbs, a San Francisco Negro psychiatrist. "To think white is to say that my salvation is going to be Mr. Charley. To think black is to say I'm the only one who is going to save myself."

Out of that sense of disillusion comes a growing cynicism about anything, however earnestly well-intentioned, that the white man tries to do—and a surprisingly widespread conviction that Negroes may end up in concentration camps or even gas chambers. In so strained a climate, honky-baiting becomes common currency, violence at least legitimate and possibly desirable. The old leaders are neutralized; so despondent is their mood, indeed, that Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young and Martin Luther King quite seriously contemplated announcing this autumn that they would quit their civil-rights command posts in six months unless something is done. Into their place come the new leaders, most of them young, some of them mad, others quite lucidly sane—and all of them united on the point that black pride and black power in some form are the absolute prerequisites for black equality. And the new leaders, unlike the old, can speak to the angry, alienated ghetto underclass.

The new mood need not necessarily prove destructive—unless white America wills it so. Whites must first recognize the Negro's terrible necessity to assert himself, to claim his manhood, to feel a sense of power over the ordering of his own destiny. He has already discovered the power to disrupt. He will eventually come into political power in the nation's great cities, as the election of black mayors in Cleveland and Gary clearly signaled. And he has made some beginnings (page 16) at developing economic power out of his own fragile resources. He recognizes that he will still need help from whites, but he wants to bargain, not beg, for it and he wants a real voice in determining what sort of help it will be. What he is after is no mystery at all: the affluence and the freedom of movement that most whites enjoy. What he does not want is the old paternalism. "No matter how benevolent you are, you are still benevolent," says Karl Gregory, an economics professor at Detroit's Wayne State University and an avowed militant. ". . . I'd rather make my own mistakes."

The spread of "black consciousness" ought to surprise no one; the Negro in America has never been permitted the luxury of forgetting that he was black. He was ripped out of the preliterate culture of Africa, shipped to America in chains, emancipated from slavery at last to become not quite a free man but a member of a lower caste. He still tilled the white man's fields and tended the white man's kitchen; he was still punished for assertiveness and rewarded for servility; he was rather expected to be dependent on the white man's largesse, and he was permitted a sort of easy violence and easier sexuality—all, of course, on the reservation.

What the rural South had begun, the urban North completed. The black diaspora began in the late nineteenth century, burgeoned in the twentieth, hit floodtide during two world wars. The Negro population, as late as 1940, was three-fourths Southern and mostly rural; today, nearly half the nation's 22 million blacks live in the North and two-thirds are clotted in and around the nation's cities. And they came to the cities a peasant class, with nothing more than the muscle of their backs and the impossible dreams in their heads.

The cities, of course, have cheated the black man's hopes. But myths die hard, and the myth that the urban North is the promised land is not dead yet. Whites commonly assume that the North's higher welfare rates are the central attraction—the sort of utterly logical and utterly narrow judgment that comes from reading bar graphs too literally. Anything looks better to Negroes who live in unpainted shacks papered over inside to keep the wind out, who sleep three, four or five to a pallet made of a fertilizer sack stuffed with raw cotton, who sustain themselves and their kids on a diet of grits and beans and rice. And many Negroes still imagine that the rainbow ends in Memphis or Chicago or Newark; it is not the welfare statistics who write home. "All the boys hear all this talk about Up North and they just take off," says 17-year-old Arthelia Hulett, a farm boy in Alabama's Lowndes County. "All the money is Up North. There just ain't no money here."

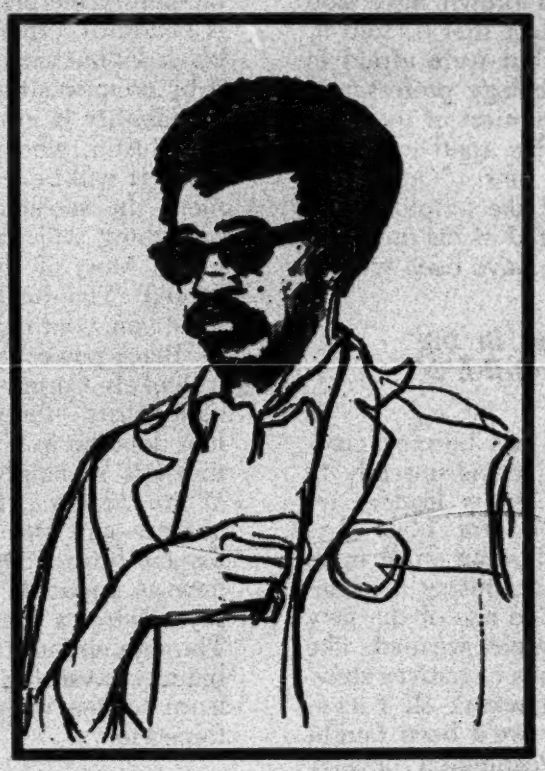
'The ghettos in America are like the native reserves in South Africa'

The riots and the grievances they revealed may at last have fractured the myth: the flow of migrants into Watts has ebbed from 1,000 a month before the holocaust there to 400 a month since. Yet still the trek goes on. Until this autumn, Velma Hatcher, 19, had a $50-a-week job at a small raincoat factory in Selma—enough to live on and even to squeeze out the payments on a shiny new yellow Camaro. But the plant's mostly Negro work force, Velma among them, went on strike, and the company brought in non-union replacements. There was nothing else available in Selma; there was the car she wanted desperately to keep; there were the letters home from a cousin in Flint, Mich., about the easy, high-wage jobs in the auto industry. And so, one teary October morning, Velma packed up, soothed her mother ("Soon as I pay for my car I be back home") and pointed North. "Velma didn't want to go North," her mother says, "but she didn't have no choice. She's tried lots of places up there, but she ain't had no luck yet. She wish she were back here, I know."

The story is repeated countless times: the rainbow ends in a ghetto hopelessly mired in the culture of poverty and the pervasive climate of failure. Most high-wage jobs, where they are available to Negroes at all, are for people with high-school diplomas and marketable skills, not Southern farm hands or Northern dropouts. So demoralized are the ghetto schools that it scarcely matters whether a student quits (as perhaps half do) or sticks through till graduation; half the job applicants at a hiring center in Boston's Roxbury ghetto have at least some high-school education, but the average reading

level is fourth grade. Most galling of all is the ghetto itself—a monochromatic preserve which, as the Negro psychologist Kenneth Clark notes, makes it brutally plain to the black man how little his society values him.

His housing is old, crumbling, rat-ridden, so desperately overcrowded that—at the density rate of parts of Harlem—the entire U.S. population could be squeezed into three of New York City's five boroughs. Garbage festers uncollected on the sidewalks; building codes go unenforced; the streets are not even paved in parts of Houston's black quarter. "The ghettos in America are like the native reserves in South Africa," says Ralph Bunche. "They symbolize the Negro as unacceptable, inferior and therefore kept apart."



They symbolize his powerlessness as well. Very nearly everything in the ghetto —its tenements, its stores, its politics, even its brothels and its numbers banks—are owned by whites downtown. Symbols of power become fiercely important: few whites understand the hurt Negroes feel when, whatever the merits of the case, an Adam Powell is expelled from Congress or a Muhammad Ali is stripped of his heavyweight crown.

And casual slights become traumatic. Once, on a visit to Watts, Robert F. Kennedy tried to strike up a talk with two baleful youths in Malcolm X sweatshirts. "They finally began to talk," Bobby recounts, "how they lived, why they hated white people. The garbage on the streets which was never picked up. One lived with his mother, he was 19, he decided to complain to the department of sanitation . . . They said, 'How old are you?' When he told them 19, they said you have to be 21 to complain. He told me, 'You can draft me and send me to Vietnam but I can't complain here!' The hatred left his face and you could see the hurt—what we'd done to him."

And finally everything crumbles. A bottle of muscatel becomes an anesthetic, narcotics a refuge, casual sexuality and violence the twin proofs of manhood for Negroes who cannot furnish the customary evidence: the ability to provide for a wife and children. Families break up. Illegitimacy becomes a norm: half of Harlem's babies last year were born out of wedlock. Welfare dependency grows: six Negro children in ten subsist at least part of their lives on the dole. Failure becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy: men wander aimlessly from one dead-end, low-wage job to another, quitting on the flimsiest real or imagined provocation since they expect to be fired anyway. Crime proliferates, most of it directed at other Negroes. Arrest records are cheaply accumulated, dearly lived down. Police and Negroes look on one another with mutual paranoia: cops often see Negroes as innately amoral, and Negroes commonly view cops as head-knocking bullyboys.

'Sure, I'll be workin' tomorrow . . . A man got a right to hurt, ain't he?'

In the end, says anthropologist Elliot Liebow in a brilliant study based on a year-long live-in on a Washington ghetto street corner,* a man's wife and children can become a symbol of his own failure as a man—and the easy, transient camaraderie of the corner becomes an irresistible lure. At the moment he submits, says Liebow, "he comes into his full inheritance bequeathed him by his parents, teachers, employers and society at large. This is the step into failure from which few if any return, and it is at this point that the rest of society can wring its hands or rejoice in the certain knowledge that he has ended up precisely as they had predicted he would."

*"Tally's Corner," by Elliot Liebow. Little, Brown. $5.95.

For the corner is only a way station on the journey to the end of the line. At 17, Gary Robinson and nineteen other boys from his Harlem block joined the Air Force, and he has tried to keep tabs on them ever since. One beat his child to death with a shoe and was executed. Others have died of narcotic poisoning, or gone to prison on charges ranging from mugging to murder, or simply vanished. Only five are still in society: two cops, a doorman, a hustler and Robinson himself. Today, a cool, trim and handsome young man of 32, Robinson is a poverty worker in Boston, trying to place the ghetto poor in jobs or job training. Sometimes his wards fail him; one of them, a man newly lined up for a hothouse job, shuffled across Robinson's path one morning, generously nursing a toothache with muscat wine and offering amiably, "Sure, I'll be workin' tomorrow . . . A man's got a right to do a little hurtin', ain't he?" And Robinson does not get angry, because he looks at them and sees his own past: running with a teen gang at 12, puffing pot at 13, doing 28 days in The Tombs at 23 for possession of marijuana. His mother came to see him in jail and cried, and Robinson decided to go straight. And now he agrees: "A black man's got a right to hurt."

'Malcolm X said things we all felt but were afraid to say'

The marvel is not so much that so many are destroyed as that so many escape destruction. Decades of striving have produced an authentic black middle class, stable, growing fast, a shade more cautious in its life style even than its white counterparts. There is a note of comfort in a new government report revealing that 28 per cent of the nation's non-white families now earn more than $7,000 a year —better than double the 1960 figure—and that 151,000 families crossed the line out of poverty last year.

But the figures also show a dangerously widening breach between the emergent middle class and the hard-core ghetto poor whose lot, by nearly every measure, is either stagnating or getting worse. A Labor Department study of ten of the nation's worst slums found one Negro in three either jobless or earning too little to live on—a statistic that makes even the official unemployment rate of 9.3 per cent for slum Negroes sound almost cheery. And so the Negro underclass grows larger and more dangerous, its problems so stubbornly intractable to conventional cures that—according to the Labor study—no conceivable amount of economic growth could "stir these backwaters."

Yet crisis has set a countertrend in motion. A community that feels itself beleaguered tends to unite. Black America today feels beleaguered, and, for a trend-making minority among its middle-class intelligentsia, the unity of race is proving hardier than the divisions of class. "All the middle-class Negro's efforts are pointed to success in the white society," a Detroit militant says happily. "But as the black giant awakens, he has trouble with his identification with whites as well as with his blackness. For the first time, there is something pulling at the other end."

A college-bred, combat-weary civil-rights kid named Stokely Carmichael signaled the trend the day when—without knowing quite what he meant—he first whooped "black power!" on the 1966 Meredith March through Mississippi. The Stokely set has wandered since into a destructive and finally suicidal revanchism that glories in violence (or at least the rhetoric of violence). But they have left behind a whole Stokely generation in the colleges; even Ivy campuses have their own black-conscious Afro-American student organizations, and San Francisco State—under pressure from its Black Student Union —has lately agreed to offer a fifteen-unit program of "black

studies." Now, thinking black, a phenomenon of the rebellious young, has begun spreading across the generation gap.

Suddenly, the disaffected poor and the middle-class militants have discovered not only a common color but a common private rage at the condition of being colored. They have, moreover, discovered a common hero: not an assimilationist like Young or Wilkins or King but a radical separatist who chose to call himself Malcolm X. Malcolm was a lean, coffee-colored ex-con who found his private salvation in publicly and mercilessly excoriating white America. His Muslim faith was exotic, his demand for a separate state improbable. But what he said—and what Stokely and Rap Brown have said since—was not nearly so important as the fact that he said it. "Malcolm said the things that we all felt but were afraid to say," says Lawrence Harrison, 44, a psychology professor at San Francisco State. "Once it became open, most of us dared to say them, too." His death completed his apotheosis: his image is worn on sweatshirts and lapel pins ("Our Black Shining Prince"), his autobiography is read like scripture, and —though three Black Muslims were convicted of his murder— the real assassins are somehow supposed to have been whites.

'I hated the word they printed in big letters across my folder: C-O-L-O-R-E-D'

And suddenly the question of identity has become compellingly important. Since white America seems unready to assimilate the blacks, the new black-conscious leaders respond by rejecting white America. Even the term "black" has become a badge of honor instead of the fighting word it always was in a society whose everyday vocabulary includes "blackmail," "blacklist" and "black day." The rise of the new African nations was a revelation for Negroes weaned, like whites, on "Little Black Sambo" and cartoons of natives stewing missionaries in iron pots. "Suddenly it wasn't all Tarzan and Jane flying through the trees the way we'd been taught Africa was," says John Torian, 30, a Washington poverty worker. "Suddenly we found that these people were talking about independence." The Negro was searching for a past he could be proud of; the new Africa had handed him one, and a future to boot.

The revolt of black consciousness struck at the old stereotypes as well. "The Negro now isn't the bubble-eyed, buck-toothed clown who was only good at stealing chickens and tap-dancing on a barrel by the docks the way they always showed us we were in the movies," says the Rev. Arthur Brazier, director of the militant Woodlawn Organization on Chicago's South Side. "I would see those movies in the Army in World War II and I hated it, and I hated being segregated in that Army, and I hated the word they printed in big letters across my record folder: 'C-O-L-O-R-E-D'." So bubble eyes and buckteeth are out. Natural hair is in. Skin lighteners are out. "Soul food" is in. ("When black consciousness takes over," says Finley Campbell, an English instructor at Atlanta's Morehouse College, "you eat your chitlin's with an air of ceremony . . . When you sit down to take tea, you are losing your identity. Tea is not your bag, man.") And integration, at least for now, is out. A Rochester action group was born two years ago as "Freedom, Integration, God, Honor—Today"; the acronym FIGHT is still the same, but the "I" stands for "Independence" instead of "Integration."

There is, of course, a defensive undertone in all this—an almost too strenuous celebration of blackness that sounds sometimes as if the practitioners of thinking black are mostly trying to persuade themselves. A race that has been enslaved for two and a half centuries and held apart as inferior for a century more can hardly escape without beginning to doubt itself. Psychologist Clark, for one, calls the black-power movement a "shoddy moral product disguised in the gaudy package of racial militance," and he thinks it represents partly a genuine Negro fear of moving outside the "pathetically protective" walls of segregation.

Yet others believe that the Negro will never reach the mainstream unless he first attains a pride in blackness—and develops effective black power. The path is seeded with booby traps; it has led some few to the folly of violence for its own therapeutic sake, others into the self-indulgent satisfactions of merely announcing that honkies are bad and black is beautiful, others still into fantasies of retreat into pastoral black *kibbutzim* or separate black states. But thinking black is by no means the monopoly of fantasts or fools. "The search for identity is growing up," says Movement intellectual Bayard Rustin, who passed through his own black period years ago. "It will be partly painful and partly foolish. But the moment the society restores the Negro's faith and hope that something will change, the sense of self-pride will fall into place. Most of the kookiness is a reaction to not being accepted: 'You don't want me. OK, well, let me tell you, I don't want you, your hair, your food or nothin' to do with you'."

"Black power" may mean guns to Rap Brown, guerrilla war to Stokely Carmichael, or bricks and firebombs to the "do-rag nationalists"—the angry street-corner kids with their processed hair done up in black rags. But, to a new breed of Negro politician it is simply a statement of the truth of the matter. White America, they argue, is not ready to break up the ghettos—and the ghettos accordingly will, at some not too distant future day, run the politics of the cities. "We can have an impact in the cities out of proportion to our numbers," says Detroit's Democratic Congressman John Conyers. "... Through circumstances that we reject, ironically, nearly every big city is turning black." The question is whether whites will learn to live with that political fact, as Negroes have been forced to.

'I can't lose by rioting. Done lost. Been lost. Gonna be lost some more'

And whites in good measure hold the key to whether the new black mood will prove in the end to have been a painful period of transition into the mainstream—or a signal of the final destruction of the American dream. There is a special poignance in the current state of the elders of the Movement. But a society that now says it will not reward rioters has not rewarded the "responsible" leadership either. The nihilists who so easily command the television time dismiss the Kings, the Youngs and the Wilkinses as "Uncle Toms"; the charge is tragically wrong, but the old leaders cannot prove it unless they can deliver. Now, even in the time of thinking black, there is opportunity—if whites seize it. The will to self-help has never been stronger. Only the irrationalists imagine that progress can be achieved without white help. But help is unlikely to work, in the new climate, unless Negroes feel they have a measure of control.

Thus there is both promise and peril in the new mood. If its origin is pessimism and its cutting edge anti-white, it still reflects a rising Negro pride, assertiveness and initiative. Thinking black will often be abrasive, sometimes disruptive. But the abrasions and the disruptions should diminish if white America can see beyond its incendiary excesses. For the truth is that the Negro wants what he has always wanted: decent homes, jobs and schools, a piece of America's plenty. Yet the new mood itself reveals his faltering faith in white America. In such a situation, the

danger is that black consciousness will become permanently and exclusively the property of its extremist fringe—the dead-end separatists and the apostles of destruction. Most certainly, the ghetto did not exhaust its capacity for destruction in Harlem or Watts or Detroit. "I can't lose by rioting," says an Oakland, Calif., gang leader. "Done lost. Been lost. Gonna be lost some more. I'm sayin' to the Man: 'You includin' me in this game or not?' And I know his answer, so I'm gettin' ready to get basic."

'They didn't tell me that I was going to be just another nigger when I got back'

Militants and moderates alike sense that a litmus test may be coming with the return of Negro troops from Vietnam. The fact of race is not discussed much there simply because the fact of war is so much more important. "I don't believe in this rioting s— personally," says Pfc. Wilbert Latin, 25, of Shreveport, La. ". . . One of my best buddies in this outfit is a white from Mississippi. We eat out of the same mess tin. If I go to the PX, I share whatever I get with him, and he does the same for me." And Sp/5 Donald R. Gulley, 24, of Safety Harbor, Fla., seconds: "At first the white guys in our unit were ashamed that they had to associate with you, but after our first combat, we were real buddies." Yet the very fact of integration in the Army—and the leveling democracy of fighting a war—has raised the black soldier's expectations of his prospects back in civilian life. "They think because they did a good job over there, they have shown they are good and capable," says John Lewis, a veteran of the civil-rights wars in the South during the early 1960s. "They won't settle for no broom."

Will they, as the moderates hope, come home to decent jobs and housing and a stable leadership role? Or will they, as the nationalists expect, be shut out with nothing but their rage and their skills in the arts of war?

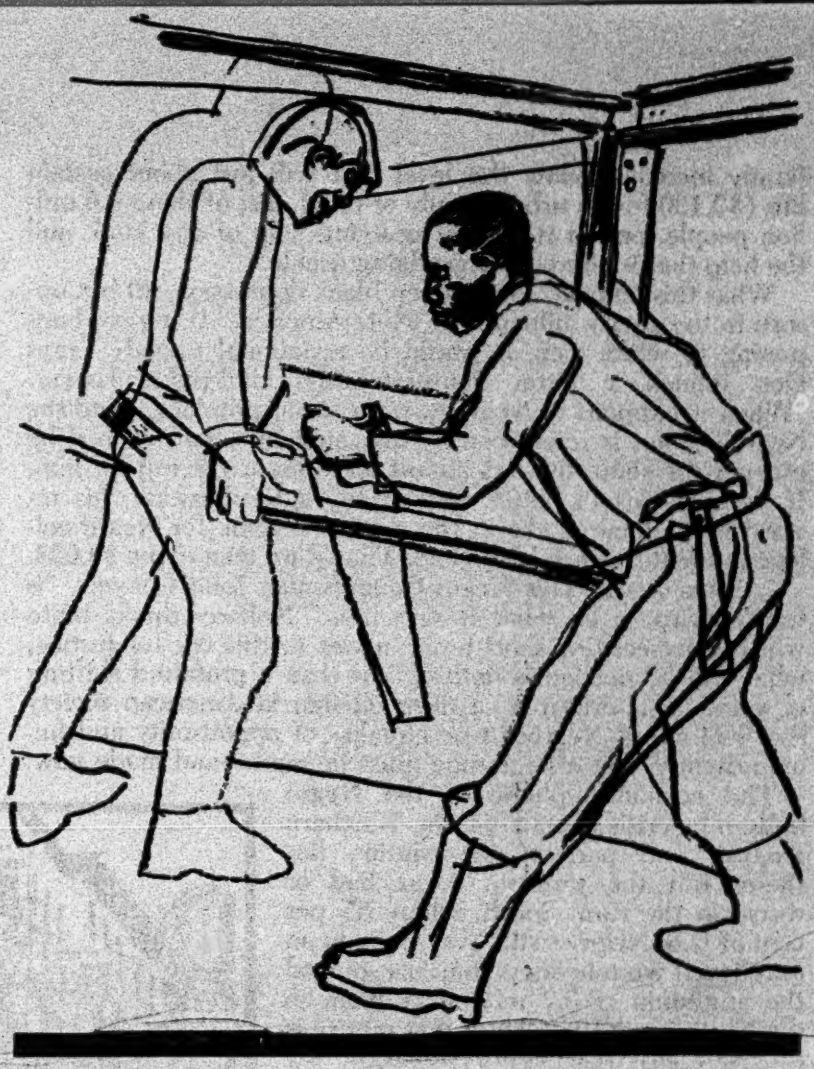
In Chicago, the returns are beginning to come in.

Emmett Beard, 26, landed a job as a bus driver and brings home $390 every two weeks—enough so he can dream of escaping to something better than the litter and the anomie of the Lawndale ghetto. Vietnam left him with no stomach for violence: "I saw quite a few dead soldiers, white and Negro. It was awful. I figure if some of these race haters, the black ones and the white ones, encountered that, maybe they'd change their minds." Yet still he feels his life circumscribed by the fact of his color: "If I were a white man, I think I could predict my future. But as a Negro I just have to wait it out."

Gilbert Kelly, 26, is an architect; he moved easily into a solidly middle-class job with the Masonite Corp.; but he has begun to think black. He let his hair grow natural, daydreams about throwing over his career and "going to help my brothers in a social-work program or something." He questions the reality of integration awarded piecemeal to "acceptable" middle-class Negroes like himself. "You know," he says, "you look at yourself and you say, 'I'm making it.' Big deal. Making what? If I've got some black pride, maybe I should be with black people that aren't making it."

And J.T. Watkins, 23, came home to nothing, so he spends most of his time hanging around ghetto street corners and jiving with his friends. "I want to burn down every building in this town," he says. "Let me do that and I'll be grateful to the white man for the rest of my life." He is one of the wasted ones. "All you guys want to give is a dollar an hour," he says. "Man, I can *beg* more than that right on this corner. Y'know, if I was back in Vietnam, I'd shoot every white guy I could find. They didn't tell me that I was going to be just another nigger when I got back here."

So bitter a man may already be beyond salvage. The new mood spreading across the black ninth of the nation flows from a deep doubt that America is even willing to try. If that judgment is to be reversed, it will require an emphasis not on piety but on program—and a sophisticated understanding of the bleak economic facts of life in black America.



BLACK POVERTY

Jobs, housing, welfare—the bleak economic facts of life mean dynamite in the slums

" 'Outside agitators' have not been causing the riots in our cities. It has been the 'inside agitators' that are to blame—the growl of a man's stomach telling him he is hungry, the emptiness of a man's pocket telling him he has no money for clothes and a livable house."

—New York Rep. Joseph Resnick

Congressman Resnick's diagnosis, offered in the heat of a House debate on last summer's tragic wave of violence, pinpointed one of the gut reasons for the explosion of the ghettos—black poverty itself. And though black America will not be pacified with money alone, most of the measures that must be taken to ease the racial crisis will have to be focused on three of the Negro's basic economic problems:

■ **Jobs:** Through boom and recession, black unemployment has remained at twice the white level for the past decade. The national jobless rate for Negroes rose sharply to 8.8 per cent last month; in the slums, fully one in three are "subemployed"—they want work but can't find it, or are working part time or for subminimum wages. If he is working, a Negro is far more likely than a white man to be in a menial and unpromising job; Negroes make up 11 per cent of the labor force but have only 6 per cent of the nation's professional and technical jobs, 3 per cent of the managerial jobs, 6 per cent of jobs in skilled trades. Their median family income is only 58 per cent of the white man's.

■ **Housing:** Nearly 1.7 million Negro families, 29 per cent of the total, live in substandard housing; 28 per cent are overcrowded. In the cities, 15 per cent of black families have no hot water, 15 per cent share bathrooms with other families, and 21 per cent have no bathtub or shower available.

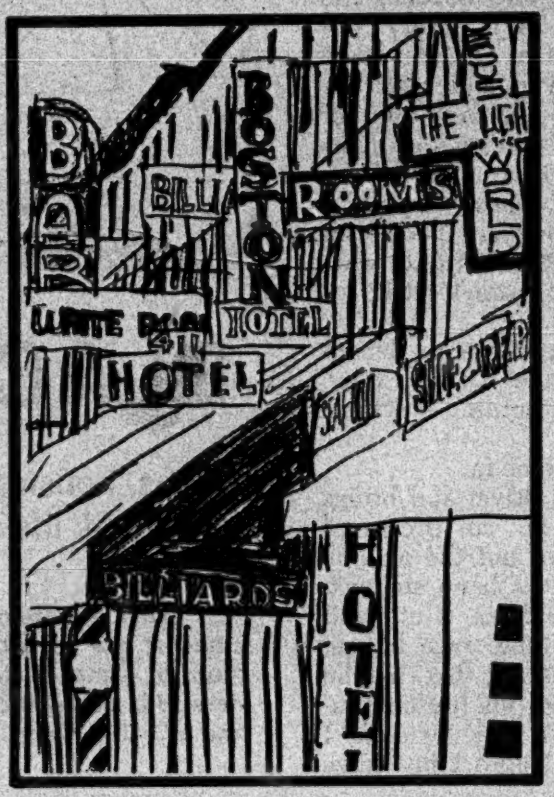
■ **Welfare:** More than 40 per cent of the nation's 22 million Negroes are officially classed as poor, meaning that they have

family incomes below the level that will just about sustain life ($3,130 for an urban family of four). Yet of these 9.6 million people, only a third are receiving help of any kind, and the help that is offered is a grudging trickle.

What this adds up to is a deep black depression, all but unseen in the gaudy affluence of white America. "If it were happening to white men, it would be a national tragedy," says Don Jelinek, a bitter Southern-based civil-rights lawyer. "When it happens to Negroes, it's a social problem." And the Negro's anger is reinforced by his conviction that, even if he escapes the slum, there is almost no room at the top for him. If he struggles to better himself through education, his reward is the final mockery: the median income for Negro college graduates is a bare $5,928. The white man earns $9,023.

"All we want," says Negro Congressman John Conyers, "is for America to be what it says it is." Nobody thinks there will be any easy or short-term answer to this cry for justice; what will be needed is nothing less than a profound shifting of values and priorities, a deep change in American society that will afford Negroes true equality of opportunity and human dignity. But a beginning must be made—and made now.

The economic plight of the Negro boils into crisis mainly in the Northern ghettos, and part of its solution lies there. But the problem is as bad or worse in the rural South, where 55 per cent of U.S. Negroes still live, many in an unrelieved wretchedness that has spurred the migration of 3.7 million of them to the North since 1940. Until that misery is relieved, any real improvement in the Northern ghettos will simply attract a new wave of migration.



In the abstract, improving Southern conditions should not be a difficult task. Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman estimates that the average migrant family could be persuaded to stay home by an income rise of $1,000 a year. But with no such prospect in sight—and with the Southern welfare system notoriously oppressive and inadequate—the exodus continues unabated.

For Negroes, the northward flow ends in Harlem or Hough or Watts. Once there, life is quickly reduced to familiar terms: the degradation of the slum, the desperate search for work and the final dependence on the mercies of the welfare department. Welfare, jobs and housing are the three main spokes of the wheel of poverty, and a tangle of frustrations for anyone trying to help. In truth, improving a man's living conditions won't help him much unless he has a job. A job won't help unless he is trained to perform it. He cannot be trained without the basic conviction that he has a chance to succeed. But he is not likely to form that belief in the squalor of the slum. Thus all three problems must be attacked at once—but the nation has shown little willingness to face the task.

'If you had a business that wasn't working, you'd get out or try something else'

There is a basic legend about welfare in South and North alike—an oddly unshakable conviction that welfare recipients are a pack of idlers who would rather take handouts than work. As generations of social reformers have argued, it is simply not true. It has been amply documented that the poor do want work, but the legend persists and is used to justify a shockingly inadequate welfare system. Even now, only one in three of those officially classified as poor in the U.S. gets any help at all. Only seventeen states meet their own minimum standards of need in actual children's aid; four states dole out less than 40 per cent of the minimum they have set themselves. Aid to dependent children averaged $54.20 a month in New York this year; in Mississippi, the figure was $9.35.

There is ample blame to share among Federal, state and local governments, and among the voters who permit such conditions to continue. But there is also widespread agreement that the complex welfare structure is itself to blame for much of the failure adequately to care for the nation's poor. "If you had a business for 30 years and it wasn't working," says Mitchell Ginsberg, Welfare Commissioner in New York City, "you'd either get out of business or try something else. I think it's time we tried something else."

Three main proposals for basic welfare reform are now being discussed:

■ **Negative Income Tax:** In a reversal of the tax process, families with income below the designated poverty line would receive direct government payments to make up for all or part of their "income deficit." Sponsors of the proposal maintain it could replace all existing welfare structures, but most experts are skeptical. A special government study last year concluded that a form of negative income tax that would reduce the income deficit of the poor by 42 per cent would cost $4.4 billion a year.

■ **Family Allowances:** Monthly payments would go to all children, rich and poor alike. Daniel P. Moynihan, of the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies, calculates that an average monthly payment of $10 per child would cost $9 billion a year (with part of the cost coming back in income taxes from wealthier families), and would be politically popular. But critics argue that the plan, providing children with little more help than Mississippi now allows, wouldn't do enough for the truly poor.

■ **Relief as Needed:** In place of the present tangle of special-assistance plans, such as aid to the blind, the disabled and families with dependent children, a new structure would deal with all the poor on a basis of individual need. In theory, at least, this would be a leakproof system (that is, it would insure that no one in the nation was in want). Such a plan, a government study said recently, could reach 100 per cent of the poor and make up the full deficit between their incomes and the amounts they actually need to live on. The plan might also include built-in incentives that would permit the poor to earn without losing corresponding amounts of welfare income—a catch in the present system that is accurately described by critics as a 100 per cent income tax on outside earnings. Such a guaranteed income plan would cost $19.2 billion a year on top of current Federal welfare costs of $4.2 billion.

Whatever strategy is adopted, some basic welfare reform is essential. For one thing, as Moynihan eloquently notes, "The fact that a large group of persons is reduced to such conditions declares that the system under which they live is unjust. Period." But even if ethical considerations can be ignored, the self-interest of society argues for reform. For any system that condemns 3.5 million children to squalor in their formative years can only expect 3.5 million future adults conditioned to poverty and unable to break out of it.

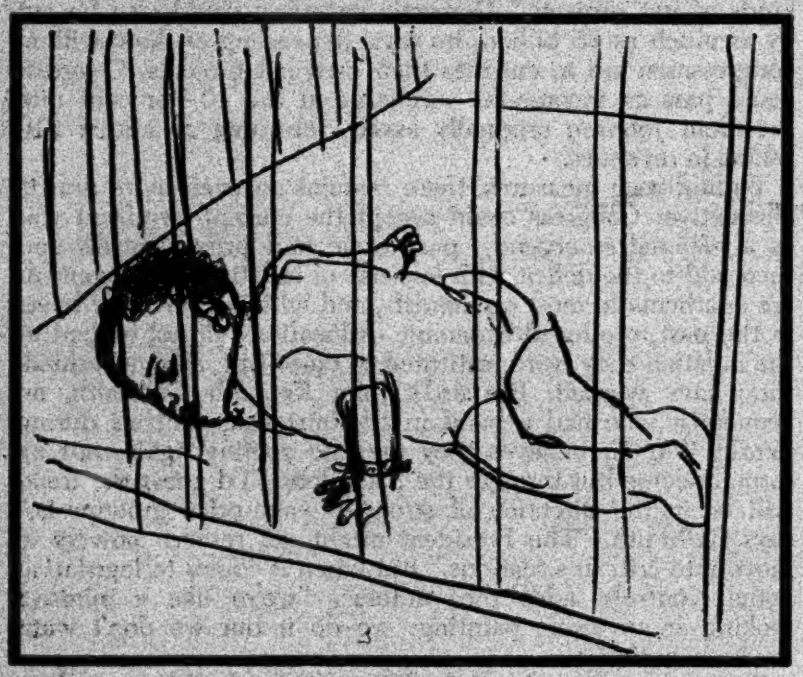
'When people are able and willing to work, the government must provide jobs'

For the immediate future, the key problem in the poverty cycle is jobs—to help keep families together, to help shrink welfare rolls, to provide more-than-marginal income and contribute to the prosperity of the entire country. If Negroes alone among the poor had been full participants in the econ-

omy last year, the Council of Economic Advisers has calculated, they would have added $23.7 billion to the gross national product. Thus, in the end, any conceivable poverty program would turn an economic profit. But what is more important, this economic betterment would provide human dignity and independence for people who are now excluded from society. And the exclusion is pervasive; just as companies discriminate in hiring and promoting, many unions—and particularly the craft unions—have systematically excluded Negroes from apprenticeship except in token numbers.

The key to jobs, in turn, is training. Until recently, the official approach to job training was a bewildering profusion of experimental programs—so many, in the words of the Detroit riot commission, that trying to understand them "is like trying to carry a quart of unbottled mercury in your bare hands." But within the past year, the Administration has evaluated the experiments and focused most of its training efforts on one promising line: the "concentrated employment program."

The CEP approach begins with recognition that the hard-core unemployed aren't equipped to deal with middle-class society; a man who may well want a job doesn't know where to go to get one, or how to act when he finds it. Thus, re-



cruiters fan into the slums actively looking for job prospects. Once found, the trainee is assigned to a personal counselor —and each counselor has no more than twenty trainees. "If they need literacy training, he gets it for them," explains a Labor Department aide. "If they need medical care, he gets it. If they want on-the-job training, he sends them to the right place. If they fail some place along the line, he should know why. He should never give up on a client."

Within the CEP framework, the government is also trying to switch its specific training programs from institutions to businesses where the jobs are. Too often, institutional training prepares men for jobs that don't exist; fully 22 per cent of institutional graduates have found no jobs. On-the-job training programs, in marked contrast, have resulted in a 96 per cent placement rate.

By fiscal 1969, the Labor Department says, CEP programs will account for fully 55 per cent of its training budget. But at the current level of effort, the government training programs are only denting the unemployment problem. This fiscal year, the department's manpower-training budget of $401 million is designed to provide slots for more than 200,000 hard-core unemployed, in addition to the 20,000 already enrolled. (There are also 39,569 teen-agers in Job Corps training centers, and 400,000 others worked part time and in summer jobs this year in the Neighborhood Youth Corps.) "We get a program for 2,000 jobs for this area," grumbles Alvin Echols, Negro poverty-program organizer in Philadelphia, "and a survey already showed that there were 18,000 people out of work. What kind of concentration is that?"

To fill this gap—and also to provide for those who will inevitably flunk the training process—a growing number of politicians and urban analysts have recently been calling for an outright government-job program. "The public sector has to be the employer of last resort," says Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh. "When people are able and willing to work and can't find work, the government must provide jobs." Such jobs, all advocates agree, should be socially meaningful. In 1966, a Presidentially appointed National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress proposed one such program and said 5.3 million potential jobs already existed in the fields of health, education, public protection and sanitation. "We could pay people, at least, to keep the streets clean," says poverty worker Bob Castille in Venice, Calif. "It's as important to do that as it is to send a man to the moon."

In the ghetto's crumbling homes, pride disintegrates faster than the plaster

But the slum dweller is still condemned to the house he lives in—dank, vermin-infested, crumbling and overcrowded. In such surroundings, human pride disintegrates even faster than the sagging plaster. More than 4 million urban families live in substandard homes, and the nation has made sporadic attempts to improve their lot ever since the Housing Act of 1937. Yet by April of this year, only 647,340 families were living in public housing units, and in the past two years the pace of new construction has averaged only 35,000 units a year. What's more, urban renewal, which was designed to rebuild decaying city centers, has in practice all too often meant Negro removal; in Atlanta, for instance, 67,000 people were displaced by the leveling of slums and only 11 per cent were relocated in public housing.

Clearly, it's time to try another approach to the housing problem; and in the past few years, literally dozens of ingenious experiments have indeed been tried. Most of them have focused on rehabilitating dilapidated but still sound buildings. By one estimate, half of all slum dwellings could be repaired at costs far below the $20,000 per unit required to build anew. Some such experiments involve no public funds; in a widely reported venture, United States Gypsum Co. last year rehabilitated six old tenements in New York's Harlem and turned them over to a local authority to operate. Others, such as Pittsburgh's widely praised Action housing project, combine the efforts of local business and government, operating with relatively small amounts of Federal "seed money."

So far, such programs are not widespread enough to make more than a dent in the housing problem. Moreover, both new construction and rehabilitation are hampered by the generally outmoded technology of the building industry; Carey Jenkins, a Negro architect in Los Angeles, snorts: "The structures we build today are commensurate with 1910 automobiles." Promising innovations are offered. Stanford Research Institute, for one, has come up with 29 basic advances, ranging from plastic piping to a suspension-bridge approach for load-bearing structures. But most such approaches run into resistance from construction unions and the maze of local building codes across the nation.

Federal planners, too, are seeking innovations and finding them with three major new approaches: the Model Cities program, "Project Turnkey" and the rent-supplement program. All three basically seek to involve the private sector in public housing, spreading Federal money farther by using it mainly to make up the difference between cost and the market price. The turnkey concept, rapidly being applied to all government housing, simply turns over responsibility for a project to the contractor who builds it. The aim is to slice through the incredible maze of bureaucratic red tape that now drives builders away from public housing in droves. Model Cities, funded this year after a bitter Congressional battle, is a plan for rebuilding entire neighborhoods with combinations of existing programs in an effort to make meaningful improvements in

slum environments. And rent supplements seek to subsidize low-cost housing by paying landlords the difference between a fair rent and 25 per cent of a tenant's income. All three experiments look promising; critics charge mainly that they don't go far enough. The Administration's total budget requests for low-cost housing this year added up to $1 billion, but judging by its appropriations thus far, Congress seems likely to appropriate less than $600 million.

A major stumbling block to any housing reform is the unpalatable fact that slum dwellers tend to be destructive—a habit that rapidly turns most housing projects into high-rise slums. "I've seen perfectly responsible Negro families tear a building apart," says a Chicago expert. "They tore off the fixtures, punched holes in the walls—it was just an expression of hostility." Many reformers think self-respect can be fostered by letting tenants run their own buildings, through tenant councils with real power—an approach that certainly works in New York's self-help NEGRO operation (page 16). Increasingly in recent months, though, proposals have focused on plans to make it possible for slum dwellers to buy their own homes. Most of these schemes, including Sen. Charles Percy's much-publicized bill, would help almost none of the truly poor. The Administration, in turn, is gearing a few turn-

key and rent-supplement projects to the idea of eventual ownership. "That's what's needed," approves Mrs. Percy Hogue, a Negro teacher in Chicago. "Then, when a board starts falling, he's going to nail it."

'We have to plant trees without pulling them up to see why they're not growing'

In housing, jobs and welfare policy alike, there is clearly no lack of fruitful ideas for dramatically reducing the economic plight of slum Negroes. And despite the fact that a great deal of basic information about slum problems is still lacking, it is equally clear that present policy is aiming in the right direction. "The day of the pilot project is dead," says Harvard political scientist James Q. Wilson. "Now we have to plant trees without pulling them up every year to see why they're not growing."

But a basic commitment to the massive task has yet to be made. "Past Federal programs," says Rand Corp. consultant Anthony Downs, "have suffered from the desire to find a cheap solution to what is an extremely expensive problem." In truth, the nation has not even begun to face the magnitude of the problem of ending poverty. Adding up the bill, it is impossible to foresee a solution below the annual range of $20 billion to $30 billion, lasting for a decade or more—an expense that would have to be accepted as calmly as the $50 billion basic national defense budget is accepted today.

And the commitment, once made, could be surprisingly easy to carry out. At current levels of economic growth, Federal revenues by 1975 will be $50 billion to $75 billion a year higher than in 1967, even without a tax increase; in this framework, all that would be needed would be a national will to use one-third to one-half of the increase on the poverty problem.

In the short run, though, the decision will not be easy. For the basic tool for improvement is the strength of the U.S. economy; few doubt that any downturn would be felt first and hardest in the slums, where "last hired, first fired" has been a fact of life for generations. And the economy now seems heading into an inflationary phase that could well undermine the entire nation's prosperity if it is not stopped. In the face of this fact and a Federal budget deficit that might reach $29 billion, how can money be raised to fight poverty on a meaningful scale?

There are, in fact, several alternatives. Spending in other areas might be reduced; even supposing that the war in Vietnam continues, says one former Administration aide who is in a position to know, other defense spending could be reduced by perhaps $5 billion. "When the guns are firing," the former official says wryly, "the military brass can get away with all kinds of pet projects." Domestic spending could also be cut by as much as $5 billion, he says, depending on how willing congressmen are to cut into their own pet projects. Congress could pass an income-tax surcharge at the 10 per cent rate President Johnson originally asked, returning an added $10 billion in revenues.

Failing such measures, there remains an even more drastic alternative: Congress could accept the current two-front war as a national emergency, pass wage and price controls and then add to the deficit with less risk of inflation. Such controls are anathema to most economists, and with reason: they have, in the past, produced economic dislocations almost as bad as the inflation they were instituted to cure. But, after a fashion, they have worked. Harvard's John Kenneth Galbraith, an economist who had a hand in administering controls during World War II, believes they may be coming again—not by formal decree but through the back door. "I'd guess the trend will be in the direction of stronger wage-price guideposts," says Galbraith. "The President might get reserve powers to move into critical situations." But when it comes to legislating actual controls, adds the professor "we're like a minister looking at an erotic painting: we do it but we don't want anybody noticing."

In the long run, the most difficult task of all may well be the facing of some ugly home truths about America. For this is, in considerable truth, a nation that spreads its riches chiefly among citizens who are already fairly comfortable. Farm-price subsidies, for example, come to $1.6 billion a year, and most of the money goes to the biggest farms. The government this year will spend $3.8 billion on new highways—as much as its requests for the poverty war, public housing, rent supplements and Model Cities combined. In Washington, D.C., each time a commuter buys a car, the city spends another $21,000 on streets, parking lots and lost tax rolls so that he can drive it. "This nation must be prepared to reorder its priorities," Bayard Rustin insists. "We must reverse our concept of socialism for the capitalists and rugged individualism for the poor."

Outright reversal may not be necessary; on examination, all these government commitments may well turn out to be as beneficial to the nation as they are pleasant to receive. But in deciding whether America can really afford to help the poor, it would be well to remember that the rich sometimes get handouts, too.

There can be no question that the prize is worth the price. On the balance sheet, the economy would benefit by $23.7 billion a year if Negroes were made full participants in American economic life—and Negroes are only one in three of the poor. Beyond that, and far more important, a barrier that now divides the nation into hostile camps would at last be eliminated. America would finally be, in John Conyers's phrase, what it says it is.

TO SAVE A SLUM

With outside financing and a big boost from Bobby, a project grows in Brooklyn

One sunny morning last week nine young Negroes in blue denims began primping and furbishing a single dilapidated house on a single block in Brooklyn's sprawling Bedford-Stuyvesant section, one of the nation's most crime-ridden black slums. There was something at once stirring and depressing in the sight—as if this meager handful of unskilled laborers aimed to rebuild, stone by stone, 640 square blocks riddled with poverty and decay.

But in fact, they were the visible beginning of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corp., the modest aegis for what is designed to be the most sweeping and comprehensive rehabilitation effort ever brought to bear on a single American community. With no less a guiding star than Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, the Bedford-Stuyvesant scheme epitomizes one basic approach to slum reclamation: the concentration of powerful external forces, both public and private, on the task of turning a living wasteland into a booming commercial-residential complex. If the project fulfills its vaulting ambitions, within a few years Bedford-Stuyvesant will have been virtually reinvented. Most of its deteriorated three- and four-story row housing will have been renovated. It will have two "superblocks" linked to central green belts, two rehabilitation centers for skill training, a $4 million athletic and cultural center, a huge office-and-shopping center with perhaps a Macy's among the major stores. There will be some 25 new businesses and plants, franchises for national chains like Woolworth's, a network of health centers, a local TV station, a four-year work-study college. And flowing from it all, jobs, money and expanded horizons for the ghetto-locked inhabitants.

A year ago Senator Kennedy (with a big assist from Mayor John Lindsay) helped organize the all-Negro Restoration Corp. to establish priorities and implement the programs. Simultaneously, he set up a parallel advisory board, the Bedford-Stuyvesant D&S (for development and services) Corp., made up of top New York business executives and financiers, and put them to work to determine once and for all if an alliance of massive white power—in the form of Federal money, local-government cooperation and private enterprise—and black will power could hammer out a solution to the intractable problems of one Brooklyn ghetto.

The restoration program is indeed a breath-taking concept, thundering with high hopes—which makes some of Bedford-Stuyvesant's street-wise citizens view it with understandable skepticism. "Another damn agency," sneered a bearded young CORE member standing on Fulton Street, the section's seedy main stem. "They come. They open offices . . . They go . . . I don't have no job and I ain't gonna get one. Nothin' changes."

Kennedy concedes that there is a huge barrier of doubt and apathy to break down: "Every politician has gone in there during elections and made promises. You must always come to that edge with them . . . the promises haven't been kept."

For decades Bedford-Stuyvesant was a comfortable enclave of middle-class Brooklyn society. There are still spacious, tree-lined streets, rows of stolid brownstones and little of the blatant tawdriness of the uptown Harlem slum. But during World War II the area began a precipitous downhill slide. Today some 400,000 people—around 90 per cent Negroes and Puerto Ricans—are packed into its 3⅝ square miles. Bedford-Stuyvesant suffers the city's highest infant-mortality rate, highest rate of overcrowding, and almost the highest rate of crime and decrepit housing. Inevitably, it has been a seedbed of summer rioting.

Yet when Kennedy first systematically explored the section after the summer disturbances of 1966, he found some promising features to serve as a foundation for building: the stability afforded by a 15 per cent level of private home ownership, and a stubborn core of neighborhood pride. After he launched the Restoration Corp. Kennedy employed his considerable persuasive powers to line up high-powered talent for the companion D&S Corp., men like international banker Andre Meyer, IBM chief Thomas Watson Jr., former Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon, J.H. Whitney & Co.'s managing partner Benno Schmidt. With them came Republicans Jacob Javits and John Lindsay, the services of architect I.M. Pei, a $750,000 Ford Foundation grant, a pledge of $1 million from the Astor Foundation and $7 million from the Department of Labor to start things rolling.

'We are understating our goals . . . It's going to be a helluva long pull'

Nearly every Restoration Corp. project in the ghetto is designed to include a job-training component. Every store, service and plant it helps establish is to be owned, managed or staffed as much as possible by local citizens. And the planners have scrupulously tried to restrain those prematurely aroused expectations that have proved nearly fatal to the larger war on poverty. Kennedy staffer Tom Johnston explains: "Our feeling is that it would be much better to understate our goals and our hopes. It's going to be a helluva long pull."

Despite such precautions, there are already rumblings of resentment over what looks to some Negroes like one more grandiose handout by the white man. The two corporate bodies were quickly dubbed "White Board" and "Black Board." A factional fight forced reconstitution of the Black Board to broaden its community base earlier this year, and there are still rankling discontents over the shake-up.

The program—still in its infancy—has wisely been walking softly and carrying large uncertainties. So far there is little visible but the first fruits of phase one—the housing-renovation project. And Kennedy has found there may be limits even to his endearing young charms. One company president, Kennedy reports, put it this way: "Senator, the afternoon I walk into my board of directors and tell them Bobby Kennedy was here today and thinks we should put a plant in Bedford-Stuyvesant is the afternoon they'll have me committed."

Kennedy has no ready answer to such boardroom recalcitrance, except to push ahead wherever possible.

And hope remains high, despite the certain knowledge that tangible progress may be ten years off. "I view it as a testing ground for the proposition that . . . a mixture of the private sector, government and the community can work," says one Black Board member. To that, Robert Kennedy's foremost political rival in New York adds his own amen. Says John Lindsay: "I think this is going to work."

DO IT YOURSELF

For some Negroes, progress is a bootstrap effort—not the long wait for white help

In the welter of embittered attitudes and ideologies swirling through the black communities, at least one notion strikes a powerful chord of concurrence: above all, Negroes want control of their own destinies. And that quest has led to a welter of self-help slum enterprises—all of them in marked contrast to the Bedford-Stuyvesant concept of concentrated external assistance. For these are economic ventures run by and for Negroes themselves.

One such flourishing undertaking that leaves no doubt about its identity is NEGRO, an acronym for National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization. Headed by Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, a tall, 43-year-old neurosurgeon, NEGRO is currently renovating two six-story apartment houses in the Bronx. As ghetto families begin moving into the buildings' vacant rooms, NEGRO will supply a stream of services: a nursery, family-care programs, vocational guidance, an employment office, a medical clinic.

Begun three years ago in Queens with $2,000 in capital, NEGRO now claims a $1 million payroll and $3 million in assets. It already has a string of subsidiaries that include a small Queens hospital, a chemical corporation, a clothing factory and a construction company (which supplies manpower for the apartment-house renovation), all owned and operated by Negroes. This is Matthew's answer to high-powered "handout" programs, among which he includes the New Deal, the present war on poverty and even the Bedford-Stuyvesant master plan. All such external schemes invariably fail to reach the hard-core Negro poor, he says.

His own program, Matthew admits, is a "big brother" scheme. "We take care of people. Nobody gets fired . . . We'll hire two men to do one man's job and we'll hire anybody. A secretary may have to look up every single word and be able to turn in only one piece of dictation a day, but we'll hire her. In time, she'll learn." Rather than have Negroes go on depending on white largess, Matthew encourages them to rely on Black Brother until they can make it on their own: "The point is, we treat each individual as a patient with problems that are fundamentally medical. If you approach this in pure economic terms, you don't solve it. That's why the anti-poverty program is a failure."

The president of NEGRO argues that massive inputs of money and technical assistance are nearly irrelevant in a culture of poverty where even the most basic skills are lacking, and where what is needed first of all is the dignity of working for a living. At NEGRO's chemical subsidiary, for example, four young Negroes stand around a table laboriously filling sacks with an evil-smelling disinfectant compound for the Army. "I have a folder right here describing a wonderful machine," says the fast-talking Matthew with a grin. "One man can punch a button and fill three times as many bags as we turn out . . . A beautiful machine but it's not for us."

One of NEGRO's triumphs this past summer was the establishment of a gypsy bus line in the poorly serviced South Jamaica ghetto in Queens. It now has acquired buses and recently sent eighteen of them on a cross-country trek to Watts. "People are calling us now from all over the country," Matthew says, "either wanting us to come there or wanting our help in setting up self-help operations of their own."

But self-help success can breed new problems—as the experience of the Rev. Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia recently demonstrated. The 6-foot 5-inch Negro launched a job-training operation three years ago and now has models of his Opportunities Industrialization Center functioning in more than 40 cities. Last June his OIC's came to the attention of the White House and a special commendation from the President only further enraged ghetto Negroes who objected to Sullivan's stress on "attitude training." To militants, "attitude training" sounded too much like tidying up the black man's image to make him less offensive to whites.

"This walk right, talk right, smile right, smell right program . . . [is] crap," snaps Philadelphia's Alvin Echols, executive director of the North City Congress. "Why can't a dirty black man walk in for a job like a dirty white man and have the same chance?"

'Self-help groups could do so much more if America put money at our disposal'

The Negro backlash leaves Sullivan undaunted. He claims he has placed 3,000 trainees in jobs in Philadelphia alone. And though some Negroes accuse him of "creaming it" with inflated success statistics, at the moment he is pushing for a fund of $100 million "to activate centers in 60 cities which could produce 50,000 more newly trained people in a year."

Though the OIC's are advertised as open to all comers, so far few whites have enrolled. And indeed, Negro moderates fear that the emphasis on enterprises owned, operated and staffed by blacks will tend in the long run to isolate the ghettos even further from the white community. But in a curious way, self-help enthusiasts seem to be cultivating a nineteenth-century rugged-individualist mentality that is helping establish links to the white business community. As a rule among Negro self-helpers, anything that smacks of government intervention and white liberalism is suspect; private enterprise is the only partner or benefactor to be trusted.

Thus, Detroit's Negro-run Career Development Center turned down an offer of $2 million in poverty funds two years ago, but it has been cheerfully accepting contributions of money, equipment or instructors from Ford, the Burroughs Corp., and the hotel and restaurant industries to set up a job-training center in the Detroit ghetto.

Yet most Negro poverty workers acknowledge they can't make it alone. Dr. Cleo Blackburn, executive director of Flanner House, a highly successful self-help home-building project for Negroes in Indianapolis, recently asked the Senate Banking Committee for a national program to help put up 80,000 such houses. And in the nearly forgotten poverty belts of the South, Negroes are using Federal grants to set up self-help producing and marketing cooperatives like the prospering Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative Association.

"We cannot be wholly a bootstrap operation," says James Farmer, chairman of the National Advisory Board of CORE. Even NEGRO's Matthew acknowledges: "We could do so much more with America putting money at our disposal." And the whole truth seems to be that there is room enough—and poverty enough—for the efforts of a Thomas Matthew, a Robert Kennedy and even a Federal war on poverty.

ABC'S OF RACE

To save ghetto children: parent power, new school systems—and a big dose of U.S. aid

The young Negro student sat listening intently as his teacher at Proviso East High School in suburban Chicago told the class some facts about democracy, U.S.A. To begin with, the teacher said, the Declaration of Independence spells out the fundamental belief that all men are created equal. The boy shot back: "That's a lie. The black man isn't equal."

In the field of public education, where equality is vitally essential, the boy was tragically and absolutely correct. The schools have already failed most Negro adults. And now they are threatening to fail the hope of the future: Negro children of the next generation.

If America is productively to reclaim its black people—and honor the Declaration's charge—it most obviously needs a revolution in education. For a brief, exhilarating time dating from Sputnik, just such a revolution seemed to be in the making. New funds, new programs, new concepts and new commitments were marshaled to boost U.S. education across the board. Not only that, but efforts were launched to eradicate the gross disparities between schools in the suburbs and those in the cities—and, even more important, between schools in the cities and those in the ghettos. The most dramatic of the educational innovations were:

- Title I, the diversified and wide-ranging section of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act that authorized more than $1 billion in educational services specifically for disadvantaged, low-income schoolchildren.
- The Teacher Corps, the one imaginative program to shake the education establishment in decades by sending enthusiastic teams of specially trained teachers into slum schools.
- Head Start, the preschool program for ghetto children.

But then the counter-revolution set in. In the face of local opposition (by, among others, neighborhood-school advocates such as Boston's Louise Day Hicks), plus general public apathy and truly monumental problems, these ventures were either mortally wounded or seriously impaired. The result, says John W. Gardner, U.S. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, is that today "the pieces of the education revolution are lying around unassembled."

The lost revolution is attested by more than its scattered pieces. It is borne out by the familiar statistical litany of Negro educational inferiority: a 60 per cent greater dropout rate than whites, an average reading level three years behind whites by grade twelve, a minuscule handful of college applicants. But the demolition of the guiding concept of equal educational opportunity is most forcibly underscored in preferential treatment that educators themselves have regularly given white middle-class schools. In Washington, D.C., for example, the school board actually spent $100 more per pupil in white schools than in Negro schools—until it was restrained by a court order last summer.

All this has not been lost on the black world. Educational failures have bred Negro frustration. That frustration is particularly high in the South, where the Federal government has relied on "free choice" desegregation plans—meaning that Negro pupils must bear the burden of transferring to formerly all-white schools, leaving themselves and their families open to reprisals and intimidation. At the same time, Negroes have begun to realize that for now integration is effectively out. To begin with, Negro migrations are transforming the color of central cities—and making integration increasingly difficult. Already, more than half the public-school enrollment is Negro and Puerto Rican in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, St. Louis, Baltimore, Washington and Philadelphia. "Negroes have given up on integration," adds Winifred Green, a school specialist with the American Friends Service Committee. "They are frustrated, and they're turning back to the idea of improving their own schools."

'Here, teachers are interested in you . . . They push you but they don't push you out'

That is indeed just what has begun to happen. As in so many other areas, Negroes have confronted the reality of their isolation—and started to struggle with their own school problem. The inward turn and the surging growth of black consciousness have been reflected in more than the proliferation of African dress and hair styles in school corridors; it has led to classroom projects such as the formation of Negro history clubs. The exciting ventures, however, have come outside the classrooms. In a mood of self-help and self-reliance, Negroes have begun to attempt to shape and control the institutions serving blacks. These are some of the signs of the times:

- In East Harlem, at I.S. (Intermediate School) 201, a community Planning Board is working toward the goal of self-determination—with the help of a $51,000 grant from the Ford Foundation—by trying to screen teachers and set the school curriculum. Thus this fall the all-black board placed newspaper ads for 21 new teachers. About 500 applied, and so far the board has hired fifteen.
- In Washington, D.C., the Thomas P. Morgan elementary school has been turned over to the Antioch-Putney Graduate

School of Education—and the new leadership quickly sponsored an election of fifteen local school-board members. The local board, in turn, hired its own principal and started ungraded classes. Beyond the goal of self-realization, such local control experiments offer the chance to break old patterns of education. "The Negro children haven't been learning the old way," says Mrs. Verna Davis, a Morgan teacher. "We just have to give it a chance the new way."

■ In Chicago, eight churches in the East Garfield Park ghetto formed the Christian Action Missionary Academy (CAM) last February, emphasizing black consciousness to get Negro dropouts back into the classroom. CAM teachers wear black-power buttons and greet student militants with "black power!" instead of "Hello." So far, CAM has 70 pupils who might otherwise be on the streets. And that, at least, is a start in Chicago, where 1,000 pupils drop out of school each month.

■ In Harlem, other black groups, discouraged by the failure of existing educational systems, have set up their own institution: Harlem Preparatory School. It opened this fall in the 369th Regiment Armory a block from the Harlem River and will eventually have school blazers, a glee club and athletic teams. The goal of Harlem Prep is to move dropouts and other young adults from the Urban League's Street Academies in Harlem to college. "Here, teachers are interested in you as a human being," says 17-year-old Michael Kay, a former dropout. "They push you but they don't push you out."

Control from the ghetto cuts through the faceless—and often heartless—bureaucracy

Such educational experiments are still young and fragile. But one encouraging point about control from the ghetto is already clear: it is a means of cutting through the faceless—and often heartless—bureaucracy of a white-oriented school system to make local schools directly accountable for their failures. Yet the concept of local control patently confronts the mighty obstacles of the inconstancy of ghetto parents and the excesses of ghetto sentiments. One of I.S. 201's community advisers, for example, is Herman Ferguson, president of the Jamaica Rifle and Pistol Club, who was suspended as assistant principal of another school after he was accused of involvement in a plot to assassinate Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins.

More fundamentally, there must be deep skepticism that the undernourished black slums can ever make more than a psychic start at solving their school problems. Massive external aid from the white majority is required. Thus, the parents from Boston's Roxbury ghetto who organized Operation Exodus to bus 967 Negro pupils to open seats in white schools are the first to admit their scheme is stopgap at best.

Aside from the expense, the inconvenience and the uncertainties of suburban cooperation, busing as a concept has its serious drawbacks. It often takes the best and most highly motivated pupils out of the ghetto schools. And busing does nothing to improve the education of Boston's 22,500 students left in the slums. Even the number who can escape is limited by the number of suburban seats available. In a frank moment, Samuel Graves, principal of suburban Wellesley High, says that busing "will always remain token."

To move beyond tokenism, the white school establishment must first begin to reassert constructive leadership—although this probably means total revamping of city school systems. There are a few encouraging instances where cities are already doing exactly that. Pittsburgh, for one, is planning what superintendent Sidney P. Marland Jr. calls a "massive overhaul" by building "Five Great High Schools," each on a 40-acre site, to draw pupils from all sections of the city. Each school will cost $24 million and hold about 5,000 pupils; the first is scheduled to open in 1971. Such large schools offer powerful academic advantages by providing the best facilities and teachers to all pupils. Says Marland: "These schools will be good enough to confront white flight from the city."

Pittsburgh's Great High Schools are really versions of so-called educational parks, large schools holding up to 30,000 pupils, which have been proposed in many cities to provide genuine equal education. The creation of such parks, however, requires a truly massive investment in money and planning. At present, the U.S. Office of Education is spending about $2 million to plan such parks in seventeen school districts, from Berkeley to Brooklyn, but more money is needed desperately. Most large cities would have trouble building a large elementary school for $2 million.

Business, labor and churches might break the public-school monopoly

For all the local initiative, true educational breakthroughs probably will have to be imposed from outside present school systems; most large-city systems today are simply too tired and too rigid to change from within. In one far-reaching proposal, a New York City school-decentralization panel under McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, last week advocated reorganizing the entire city into 30 or 60 locally governed community school districts. Each would be ruled by a local board, with a majority of members elected from the community. Each board would hire its own superintendent, principals and teachers and set school policies within the framework of the state school code. Such a system, the panel said, "should encourage constructive competition . . . in effective educational ideas and practices, not in social or economic status." The panel's proposals will have a turbulent future. Hopefully, however, the germs of Bundy's revolution will carry to other cities, where the entrenched bureaucracies may be less resistant.

There are still other innovative alternatives under discussion by concerned educational experts. Academics including James S. Coleman, a sociologist at Johns Hopkins, have proposed that the Federal government set up voluntary boarding schools to overcome the environment of the slums. And Kenneth Clark, the noted New York psychologist, thinks that business, labor, churches and other private groups should create competing school systems to break the public-school monopoly. Business is unlikely to educate all the children of Harlem, but it could establish invaluable success models.

All the while, however, the school year is running. Many steps can be taken within the existing system to keep the revolution from faltering further. The Federal research budget for education, now less than 1 per cent of a total $17 billion U.S. research-and-development budget, should be greatly enlarged. Above all, new programs, once started, should be supported fully and not, as with Head Start, allowed to wither after the first flush of enthusiasm. All levels of government should place additional emphasis on reading skills in terms both of more teacher training and of a special Reading Summer catch-up program for grade-school children. They should also support the hiring of more sub-professional teacher aides from the school area, thereby involving the community, reducing the effect of large class size, and providing career opportunities for those who want to become teachers.

In short, the innovative outlines of the education revolution in America of a few years ago must not be allowed to fade away. Now is the moment to go forward and fulfill the promise of an equal education before yet another generation of ghetto children is lost.

GREEN POWER

For businessmen, a new urgency and a spate of slum programs—but how much can they do?

"I always thought I was in business to make money. Why the hell should I get involved in the race problem?"

This truculent question, thrown from the floor at a recent New York forum of businessmen, would have stood for the view of an overwhelming majority of the business community a few short months ago. But these days, in what may be the most encouraging development so far in the racial crisis, more and more businessmen are finding convincing reasons why they should get involved.

For some, trying to solve ghetto problems is a direct response to the riots. "Somebody's got to give the people jobs," says Dan A. Kimball, chairman of Aerojet-General's executive committee. "When you're 18 or 20 and don't have a job, you're going to get into trouble, no matter what." Others, such as Chase Manhattan Bank president David Rockefeller, think business is uniquely fitted to find creative solutions; still others, like General Electric chairman Gerald L. Phillippe, argue that "this is a problem we can't just walk away from and leave to the Federal government to struggle with." And for many of the nation's businessmen, the most convincing argument for action is simple fear that unless the racial crisis is resolved, there won't be any money to be made. "We have to say to our shareholders," says Illinois Bell Telephone president James W. Cook, "that we just have to deal with this problem or in five or ten years there will be nothing left."

Whatever the rationale, a genuine sense of urgency is seeping into corporate boardrooms where men have long argued that their only responsibility to society was to turn out goods, employ workers and earn profits. In Chicago, for instance, Dean George Schultz of the University of Chicago business school senses "a kind of implicit pressure in the business community—informally, I mean, among the top leaders. There is this kind of unspoken question, 'What are you doing to help things along?' "

So far, the new mood shows itself more in rhetoric than in real programs; business is still groping to find out what it can do, what the cost will be and even what the problem consists of. But literally thousands of companies and individual businessmen have begun to try, in pilot projects or large-scale programs that show genuine promise. Among them:

■ **Ghetto Recruiting:** Ford Motor Co. set up two employment offices in the Detroit slums last month. The company eliminated written tests and promised hiring decisions on the spot. "Before, we were testing cultural background," says President Arjay R. Miller. "Some of the tests screened out individuals who could have done a good job." Last week, Ford had hired 700 of the 1,000 who applied. Under a similar program, General Motors has raised the proportion of Negroes in its Detroit plants from 28 per cent of new employees last year to 42 per cent this year.

■ **On-the-Job Training:** Many companies have begun or expanded programs to train the unskilled, hard-core unemployed, and to help their current unskilled workers qualify for promotion. In Rochester, N.Y., Xerox Corp. is close to graduating its second twenty-man class of new workers after a twenty-week program combining practical work experience with remedial reading and arithmetic lessons. The trainees, many of whom have prison records, were found in a ghetto recruiting drive; the training cost came to $2,000 a man.

■ **Joint Hiring Efforts:** In the wake of the Watts riot, H.C. (Chad) McClellan, a former president of the National Association of Manufacturers, cajoled 100 Los Angeles employers to step up their employment of Negroes. He also had to persuade reluctant Negroes that this time they would not be turned down; in one notable coup, McClellan talked 25 of the militant Sons of Watts into applying for jobs. "If you happen to be black," McClellan says, "well, we'll give you an extra little chance because in the past it's been denied you." McClellan says a university study of 100 of the men hired last year showed that 87 were still working.

■ **Ghetto Plants:** To "put the jobs where the people are," Aerojet-General Corp. bought an abandoned plant in Watts and then started looking for work that low-skilled employees could do. Now, with a $2.5 million contract to make large tents for the Defense Department, the plant is employing 425 ghetto residents, few of them with any original work skills and most of them with police records.

■ **Housing Rehabilitation:** In a frank attempt to prove that renovating slum buildings could become a profitable field for building materials, U.S. Gypsum Co. two years ago undertook to rehabilitate six dilapidated buildings in Harlem. The company is now beginning a huge new effort in partnership with city and Federal authorities to upgrade more than 1,200 apartment units in Chicago's Lawndale slum. "Hopefully," says a company aide, "this is just a beginning."

■ **Ghetto Development:** In the past, major lenders have ruled out investment in slum areas as an unduly risky use of money. But in a widely hailed move this fall, a consortium of 350 of the nation's largest life insurance companies said they would set aside $1 billion—a sixteenth of their annual investment—to finance ghetto housing under FHA insurance.

Business involvement in the slums has begun to be organized on a national basis. Late last summer a prestigious group of businessmen organized a new Urban Coalition of business, labor, city and civil-rights leaders to lobby for new urban legislation and the formation of local coalitions. The national group called for the building of 1 million housing units a year, an emergency public-works program to provide 1 million jobs and a closer working relationship between government and the private sector. The National Association of Manufacturers also is promoting new techniques for dealing with slum problems, and is becoming a clearinghouse for information on existing urban programs.

For all these encouraging developments, there are still major obstacles to meaningful business involvement in the ghetto. Indeed, some genuinely concerned businessmen are only beginning to grasp the nature of poverty itself, the limits to what they can do about it and the fact that much of what is needed conflicts with the basic profit requirements of the business system.

Many businessmen, uneasy as they have become about recent events, still underrate the explosive potential of the ghettos. In Rochester, for instance, Don Gaudion, president of Ritter Pfaudler Corp., had been warning of trouble for months. "I was accused of exaggerating," he recalls. "Then came the 1964 riots." Even after the riots, Rochester businessmen were

slow to work out successful employment programs; it was only after last spring's bitter struggle between Eastman Kodak and a militant Negro group that the community established Rochester Jobs, Inc., a cooperative agency that is committed to finding work for 1,500 hard-core unemployed.

And once committed, businessmen often find it abrasive and annoying to employ people whose whole way of life has failed to instill such workaday virtues as thrift, neatness, punctuality and pride in accomplishment. In San Francisco, an employers' group is discovering to its dismay that real help for the hard-core poor requires vast reserves of patience, tolerance of absenteeism, personal contacts and motivational encouragement, and a willingness to pay for more work than actually gets done. "To generate a job is one thing," says an official of the program, "but to fill it is a whole hell of a lot harder."

So far, too, most businessmen are distinctly uncomfortable in any actual contact with the people they are seeking to help; they tend to discuss the problem mostly with each other or with comfortably middle-class Negroes. Significantly, the first meeting of the Urban Coalition was held in the elegance of Washington's Shoreham Hotel. An uninvited guest turned up—a Negro in a green T shirt and sunglasses who told the 800 assembled dignitaries: "When you hold these meetings, hold them down where the people are. Get down there and try to get down to the nitty-gritty." In one of the few cases where this advice was accepted, Henry Ford II recently visited a militant Detroit leader, the Rev. Albert Cleage, in Cleage's dingy ghetto church for a one-and-a-half-hour talk.

Organized labor, too, often stands in the way of projects aimed to help the poor. At one Pittsburgh meeting, for example, a spokesman for the Steelworkers Union said he would be happy to cooperate with a Negro employment program—as soon as the unemployed members of his union were working again. Far less justifiably, most construction-trades unions take only a token number of Negro apprentices and steadfastly refuse to use new construction techniques that promise to streamline the rebuilding of the ghettos.

'Business has shown a lot of willingness but it will be marked by failure'

Fundamentally, business still faces a basic dilemma over the size and cost of the effort needed to aid the ghettos. For the most part, businessmen are hired managers of other people's money; how much can they expect their shareholders to sacrifice in profits in the name of social responsibility? David Rockefeller, for one, believes that business can pick up most of the tab, and that it will become "fashionable" to do so. But he is in a distinct minority. Mitchell Sviridoff, an urban planner with the Ford Foundation, believes that is "too much to ask." Says Sviridoff: "It will have to be done through tax incentives or outright subsidies. It's going to be enormously expensive."

All these unresolved problems prompt a good deal of skepticism about a long-term business contribution to solving the urban crisis. One prestigious urban planner, speaking off the record, concedes that "business has shown a lot of willingness." But he predicts flatly: "Business has been so long removed from the level of the disorders, from the public process, that it cannot respond. It will be marked by failure to deliver."

At this stage, both gloom and optimism over the role of business are clearly overdone. It would be silly and dangerous to expect, as some business spokesmen evidently do, that the businessman will ride in and rescue the country in its hour of peril. But given time and adequate incentives and subsidies, the business community can and should perform a major role in bringing the Negro fully and finally into the economic mainstream. As civil-rights leader Bayard Rustin sums it up, speaking from considerable experience with businessmen: "I doubt if they will move the country to a fundamental change. But they will move it down the road."

WHAT TO DO

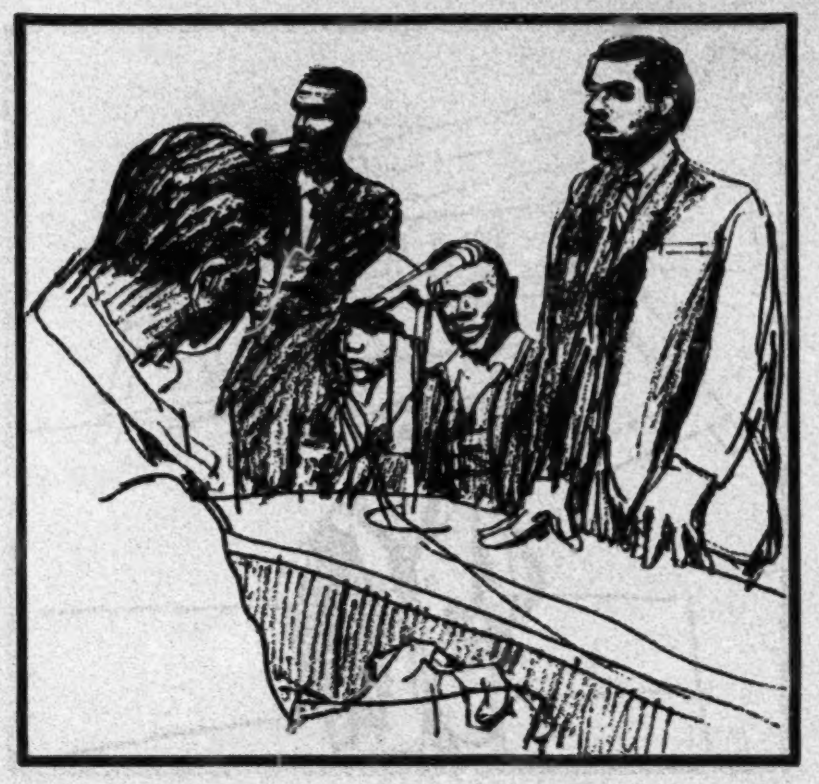
A twelve-point program for action now—and some guidelines for the longer pull

What must be done? NEWSWEEK believes that the present national atmosphere of drift and civil disorder is intolerable. America's goal must remain an integrated society—one in which a person's color carries no more significance than his national origin. And it must be a stable society, free of rioting—and of the social conditions that spawn rioting. Yet current trends are propelling the nation as a whole away from its goals. If America is to escape the "natural apartheid" the futurists speak of, a start must be made at once to counter these trends.

On the following pages, NEWSWEEK presents a program for a comprehensive attack on America's top domestic problem. The program is in three parts: an immediate action agenda, a set of principles to guide sustained effort, and specific longer-range proposals concerning employment, housing and other levers of social change. It is an expensive program—in terms not only of money but of the requirements of leadership and participation of all elements of American society, public and private.

The program is based on a fundamental premise: that America must reorder its priorities to give the plight of the disadvantaged at home the same urgency it affords the foreign obligations it has assumed. The war in Vietnam must be resolved as quickly as possible to enable the nation to get on with its unfinished homework. Until that day comes, emergency measures must be taken on the domestic front.

The first order of business is a dramatic effort—backed up by billions of dollars—to change the racial climate at home from defeatism and hostility to hope and the beginnings of reconciliation. Thus, the first phase of the NEWSWEEK program is designed to start to improve life in the great urban ghettos that have exploded in disruption unprecedented in American history. It is not a program to "reward" rioters—but rather to redress the grievances and slake the desperate impatience that fuel rioting. The emphasis here—and throughout the program—is on social justice, not merely pacification. There is ample evidence, from the halls of Congress to the nation's military and police headquarters, that improved riot-control is already uppermost in the minds of many of America's



leaders. There is less evidence of a concurrent commitment to social change.

If the Negro is the focus of concern today, it is because he is the most visible and the most rebellious of the American poor—and his revolt has exploded in the heart of America's great cities. His destiny is inextricably linked with the fate of the nation's less assertive disadvantaged—poor whites, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, American Indians and other minorities who have not yet been able to achieve their share of the country's affluence. Thus, any program that seeks to deal with the Negro's economic plight must aim at improving the lot of all the poor, not just the black poor. But no program is likely to work unless it recognizes the special burden of being black in American society.

Nor can any program succeed without vigorously committed leadership. It would be, of course, incumbent on the Negro community to recognize that an honest effort is being made, and to reject those extremists who have no more program than chaos. The rational Negro leadership cannot move alone; the black rank and file can only be expected to respond to genuine progress. Still, every brick or firebomb thrown in anger can only delay the day of reconciliation.

The heavier burden of leadership falls on white America. It would be simplistic to suggest that a President alone can generate the necessary revolution in attitudes and priorities. But the problem is of such dimension that no concerted attack can be waged without the full use of the President's powers—both as educator and initiator. At the same time, Congress must look beyond narrow considerations of partisanship and provincialism and recognize that the racial crisis could, in fact, sunder the country. From Congress, the situation demands nothing less than a new willingness to fund existing programs, to legislate new ones and to tolerate the failures of innovation. As a beginning, Congress should restore the cuts it has made in the President's urban and poverty programs. State and local governments—limited though their resources may be—must begin now to serve all their citizens alike. It costs nothing to demonstrate concern—as New York's Mayor John Lindsay has done. Business, the professions, unions, churches, universities and foundations must also play a major role in setting the new tone—in partnership with government action.

Given leadership, the most important ingredient will be carefully spent money. A sustained commitment to eliminate poverty will inevitably involve long-run expenditures of $20 billion to $30 billion a year. But while the war in Vietnam continues and the nation gears up for the long domestic pull, immediate action can be taken at far less cost. NEWSWEEK's short-term program entails reducing the Federal budget deficit while adding $510 million above current government requests in the short time remaining in this fiscal year. For the next fiscal year, beginning next July, $6.9 billion in new programs is proposed.

Added spending will require sacrifice. Inflation is already a serious problem: the Federal deficit this fiscal year will probably be in the range of $25 billion. Before any new expenditures can be responsibly advocated, measures to control inflation must be enacted. This will involve some combination of spending cuts in other areas and a tax increase—or, failing these, perhaps emergency wage and price controls for the duration of the Vietnam war.

The following twelve points represent NEWSWEEK's proposals for immediate action. They are designed not as cure-alls, but as minimal first steps to generate a sense of movement. Much of the short-range package could be in operation by next summer if a start is made now. The cost estimates are based on the best calculations available from sources in government, universities, foundations and elsewhere.

1. PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP: Lyndon Johnson should apply the prestige and power of the Presidency to the racial crisis with the same energy he uses to nourish his faltering consensus on the war in Vietnam. He could start by calling meetings with the nation's opinion-makers—businessmen, professionals, the clergy, educators, state and local officials, union leaders and other groups—to inspire a sense of urgency and mobilize their support for ghetto programs. He should show his own concern by visits to the ghettos—even as he flies to the scenes of natural disasters. His Cabinet members, too, should be on the road, educating white America to the problem and showing the flag of concern to black America. The President should use every opportunity, from informal Rose Garden ceremonials to a full-dress television address to the nation, to press the case for social justice.

2. TOP-LEVEL DIRECTION: The President should appoint a super-Cabinet-level coordinator in the White House to ride herd on domestic programs, with emphasis on city and poverty problems. He must speak with the full authority of the White House to prod the bureaucracy and to make sure that it does not operate at cross purposes. The coordinator should be a man of the caliber of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John W. Gardner or former White House aide McGeorge Bundy, now head of the Ford Foundation. Cost: negligible.

3. INFLATION CONTROL: The President and Congress should take immediate steps to reduce the budget deficit to an annual rate of $15 billion. The first step should be passage of the income-tax surcharge proposed by the President; after that, spending cuts must be made in nonessential areas. With the deficit thus under control, further reallocation of Federal funds must be made in the next fiscal year to accommodate new urban and poverty appropriations. To start with, non-Vietnam defense spending could be cut by as much as $5 billion, and Congress should re-examine such domestic items as highway construction ($3.8 billion), pork-barrel projects ($1.3 billion), farm-price supports ($1.6 billion) and the space program ($5.3 billion). Failing an adequate combination of taxes and spending cuts, the President should consider declaring a national emergency and asking Congress to impose credit, wage and price controls for the duration of the war. Any controls should have built-in exemptions for the lowest-income group.

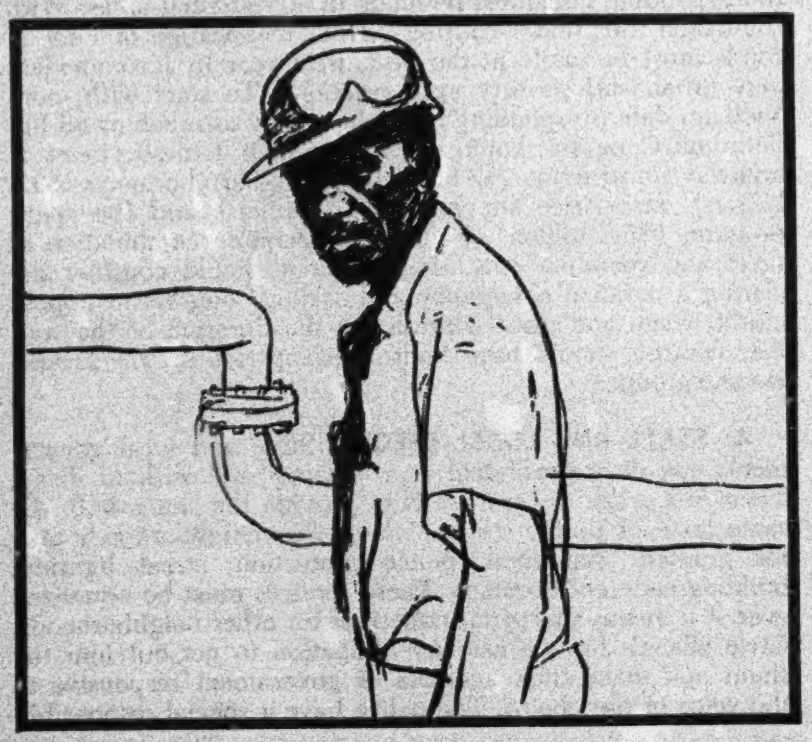
4. STATE AND LOCAL EFFORT: State and local governments can do a great deal at a low cost and without delay. Their first order of business is to provide the slums with the same level of public services that other neighborhoods take for granted: sanitation, police protection, street lighting, building-code enforcement. These services must be equalized even if it means short-run reductions for other neighborhoods. Civic officials have a primary obligation to get out into the slums and make their agencies of government responsive to the voice of the ghetto. The police have a special responsibil-

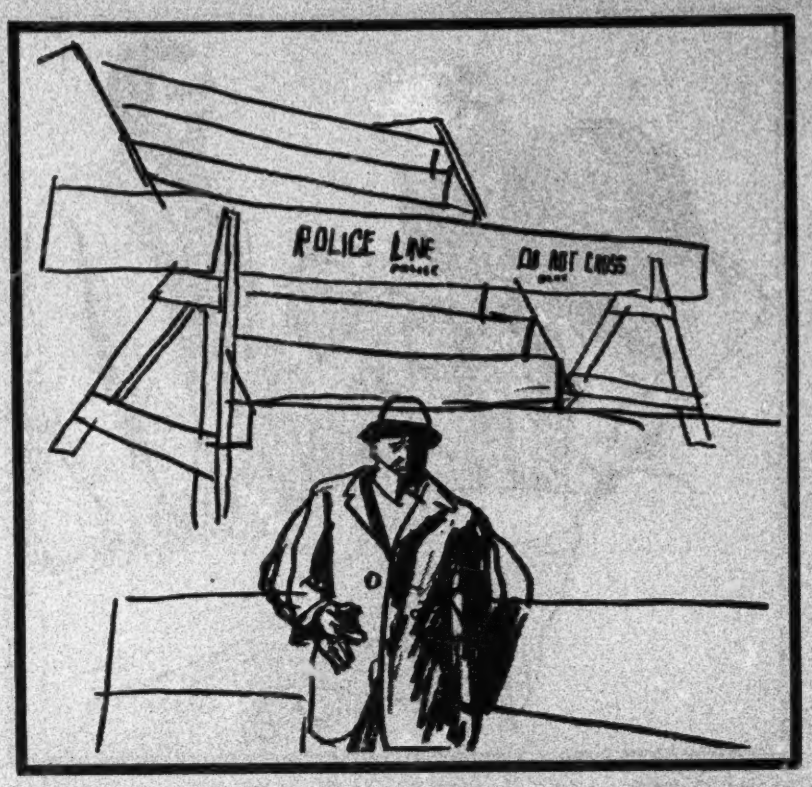
ity to make their community-relations programs meaningful down to the beat level; the President's crime commission could find no U.S. police department doing an entirely adequate job. The administration of justice must be revamped to eliminate punitive bail, to insure availability of legal counsel, and to make sure that the arrest records of persons subsequently cleared are expunged or kept confidential. Cost: no Federal funds.

5. THE PRIVATE SECTOR: Business should make a special effort not just to hire, but to seek out, train and promote the hard-core unemployed—and particularly the Negro. Unions, especially the long-exclusionary craft unions, must lower their color bars—voluntarily, if they will, or under government pressure, if they won't. The Urban Coalition effort to focus private sector involvement in the ghettos should be encouraged and expanded. Banks and other lenders should follow the example of the insurance industry in making capital available for slum rebuilding and for loans to promote slum business. The advertising community should help in the task of changing racial attitudes. More foundations should emulate Ford, Field and Taconic in financing experimental programs for minority groups. Universities should coordinate their resources to share their facilities and skills with the ghettos.

6. EMPLOYMENT: The government should expand adult job-training programs as fast as possible—tripling the current allocation of $400 million in the next fiscal year to cover a total of about 840,000 persons. Part of the increase should be used to expand existing pilot programs under which the government pays subsidies for the training and sub-par productivity of the hard-core unemployed. For those not covered by the expanded program, the government should act as the employer of last resort. As a first step, the government should subsidize ghetto cleanup programs in the cities to provide jobs for 350,000 unemployed, many of them teen-agers. This program should be geared both to the immediate needs of the ghettos (garbage removal, recreational facilities, street and sidewalk repair, demolition of derelict buildings and the like) and the long-term training of those employed. Cost: $200 million this fiscal year, $1.8 billion in the next.

7. WELFARE: The welfare bureaucracy must reform the needlessly abusive and repressive (and sometimes racist) features of the current system—the midnight searches of welfare mothers' homes for evidence of a man in the house, quixotic budgeting, regulations that stifle incentive by docking a client's benefits for any wages he may earn on his own. The Federal government must bring pressure on states and localities to make existing welfare programs (such as aid to





dependent children, food stamps and surplus food allotments) accessible to all the poor. Prompt emergency action is required to guarantee food for thousands who are going hungry in the Black Belt South. The Federal government should set up its own welfare or food distribution centers where state or local authorities refuse to provide them. And an immediate beginning must be made on equalizing the level of welfare benefits across the country and extending them to the 75 per cent of the needy—black and white—who are not now given any aid. Cost: $2 billion in the next fiscal year.

8. HOUSING: To provide maximum housing at minimum cost, Congress should raise the appropriation for rent supplements from the $40 million requested by the President—and the $10 million allocated by Congress—to $200 million a year, enough to cover more than 300,000 families. The Model Cities pilot program should be funded at the full $662 million requested by Mr. Johnson this year—rather than the $312 million Congress approved—and escalated thereafter. In public housing, short-term emphasis should concentrate on rehabilitation of rundown slum dwellings. In order to provide more units faster and cheaper, unnecessarily rigid rehabilitation standards should be made more flexible. In addition, new funds should be set aside for "sweat equity" rehabilitation projects in which the poor can do enough of the construction work themselves to earn the equivalent of a down payment. Cost: $160 million this fiscal year, $1 billion in the next.

9. EDUCATION: The Federal government should subsidize an eight-week 1968 Reading Summer, to provide intensive reading instruction for up to 6 million first- through sixth-grade children in poverty areas across the nation—thereby not only providing them with a basic skill, but getting them off the streets, as well. The government should expand current programs to pay college expenses for 20,000 borderline high-school graduates. The payments—roughly $2,500 a year—should go directly to the recipient, as GI benefits do now. Universities should, with Federal subsidies, undertake talent searches for promising ghetto high-school youngsters and provide summer enrichment programs on campus for 50,000 slum children. The government should budget an additional $10 million to further planning of integrated educational parks. Cost: $100 million this fiscal year, $2 billion the next.

10. RIOT CONTROL: A city police department's first objective must be to prevent a minor incident from escalating into a major riot. Police down to the cop on the beat must be trained to handle routine ghetto arrests with maximum possible speed and minimum possible force. Where a flare-up occurs anyway,

police must be ready with tactical plans, lines of command and communication—with the mayor in control. The police should be given far more sophisticated training in controlling arson and looting and in snuffing out street warfare. For example, snipers should be dealt with by crack police marksmen, not by random fusillades. Federal instructors should tour the cities to brief local police on anti-riot tactics. The original version of the President's Safe Streets and Crime Control Act should be enacted. In light of the National Guard's erratic riot-control performance, the Pentagon and the states have a joint responsibility to see that guard units are fully integrated and far better trained in anti-riot techniques. Cost: negligible Federal funds.

11. ENFORCEMENT POWERS: Existing Federal civil-rights laws must be vigorously enforced and the enforcement agencies must be adequately funded. Among the agencies involved are the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, the Justice Department and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which is responsible for policing the provision of the 1964 civil-rights act denying U.S. funds to segregated schools, hospitals and other federally aided facilities. At present, these enforcement agencies are operating on total budget allocations of only $19 million. They should be expanded as fast as the machinery is capable of handling new funding. HEW should refuse to accept so-called "freedom of choice" school desegregation plans which have commonly been used to institutionalize token integration in the South. The Justice Department should intensify its use of Federal voting examiners to speed the registration of Southern Negroes. Cost: $50 million this fiscal year and the next.

12. GHETTO BUSINESS: To help stop the flight of business from the ghetto, the government should guarantee insurance losses caused by riots. Federal money must also be made available to reduce interest rates and guarantee payment of loans to ghetto businessmen. This should be done through local banks that will agree to provide guidance for the businessmen, with the Federal government picking up the counseling bills. Cost: $50 million in the next fiscal year.

These steps, of course, would constitute only a beginning. A concerted effort—even if begun now—would be the work of a generation or more. The long effort cannot be done piecemeal. In order to succeed, it will have to be guided by a coherent long-term strategic goal and a set of tactical premises. The goal, again, is the assimilation of the Negro and other deprived minorities into the American mainstream. NEWSWEEK proposes the following tactical approaches:

FEDERAL STANDARDS

Contrary to the cherished belief of the old liberalism, the Federal bureaucracy is not the ideal instrument for handling social issues which must ultimately be settled at the local level. But it is the embodiment of the national will and conscience—and it can prescribe minimum standards of fairness for states and localities in federally assisted programs. Today, wide discrepancies exist in the way the states meet their responsibilities in welfare, education and other vital services. The Federal government pays 55 per cent of the nation's $7 billion welfare budget and pumps billions more into education. But it has been unable so far to establish a line beneath which no state or locality is permitted to fall. A welfare system that permits average monthly aid-to-dependent-children payments of $9.35 in Mississippi and $55.85 in New Jersey actually promotes the growth of Northern big-city slums. The government must follow the example set by its own interstate highway program (90 per cent financed by Federal funds) and impose rigorous minimum standards on all federally assisted programs.

DECENTRALIZATION

Federal standards would not mean that the government should take over the operation of state and local programs—except in those cases when the states and localities totally abdicate their responsibilities (as some have in the surplus-food and food-stamp programs). Washington is best suited to collect tax revenues, to redistribute them around the country and to coordinate and police local efforts. But programs should be decentralized to permit local control.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

Decentralization, in turn, will permit a greater degree of citizen participation—not only of the poor, but also the middle class. In big cities today, citizens feel themselves increasingly distant even from municipal government. The old system of neighborhood political clubs—which once served as brokers between the citizen and City Hall—has largely disintegrated, and no substitute has yet been found. Neighborhood school planning boards, storefront "city halls" and service centers, precinct level police-community relations committees, machinery for neighborhood participation in urban-renewal planning—all would help bridge the widening gulf. It is particularly important that white officials recognize what is healthy in the new "black consciousness"—the Negro's will for a measure of control over his own destiny. This mood will often be expressed abrasively and even disruptively. But it is too important to be dismissed as mere troublemaking. The idea of participation must apply not only to the poor, but also to the involvement of the private sector—industry, the labor movement, foundations and universities.

PLANNING

If progress is to be made, the nation must conquer its aversion to the concept of planning. A commitment to long-term strategy is needed to end the current proliferation of patchwork programs. A society that finds the word planning abhorrent has lately begun talking instead of "systems analysis," the multidimensional approach that was used in such complex projects as the development of the Polaris submarine and the exploration of space. There is no evidence yet that systems analysis can be used effectively to solve complex social problems, but its central concept—seeing a problem as a whole and attacking it accordingly—must be adopted wherever possible. Yet no planning system will work without first marshalling complete and reliable data. The government should create a National Urban Planning Center, which would systematically collect data on such aspects of the problem as population trends, migration and employment patterns, crime and the housing picture. The center should be a clearinghouse for private and public research, its own studies included. It should also be an innovational laboratory, devising new programs and testing them on a pilot basis.

GHETTO DEVELOPMENT

Any program aimed at the economic development of the ghetto should be directed primarily at encouraging commercial and service enterprises, branch offices and the establishment of government offices rather than heavy industry. There are powerful temptations to use subsidies and other devices to coax industry into the ghetto. But this moves against the present trend toward the location of factories in the suburbs,

and only a prohibitive level of subsidies could begin to turn the tide. Heavy industry, indeed, might make the ghettos even less habitable by exacerbating traffic, air pollution, noise levels and other problems. Commercial enterprises can achieve the same ends by providing jobs and stimulating the growth of service businesses. Instead of moving industry where the Negroes are, Negroes can be moved where industry is by adequate training programs and public transit systems, and, ultimately, a policy of dispersing the ghettos.

QUOTAS

Quotas have traditionally gone against the American grain. But so knotty is the problem of making integration work that some thinkers have concluded that a step as drastic as benign quotas in housing, schools and employment may yet become necessary. Experience has shown that, without conscious head-counting, "integration" is most often only the transitional stage between all-white and all-black in a neighborhood or school. Hence, even as steps are taken to promote dispersal of the ghettos, the government in cooperation with the private sector might someday have to set limits on the number of Negroes in given localities. This sort of "positive discrimination" would undoubtedly require legislation of a sort hitherto considered unthinkable, and the courts would have to depart radically from past Constitutional interpretations. It may have to be considered as part of any realistic effort at desegregation. Positive hiring quotas may also become necessary if Negroes are to be insured real equality of opportunity.

With these broad policy guidelines, specific longer-range programs can be developed. Changing events will shape the details, but NEWSWEEK believes that planning should begin now for programs along the following lines:

■ **Employment:** *The long-term goal must be a full-employment economy.* This will require an expansion of training programs until they reach literally everyone who can benefit from them. It will also require the creation of millions of new jobs in service and semiprofessional categories such as teachers' aides, social-work aides and community workers. Such jobs would be immune to the increasing automation of industry, and at the same time would free highly trained professionals to use their full skills. The government should remain the employer of last resort to make sure that there are jobs for all who are willing and able to work. But if training efforts succeed, this segment should remain a marginal part of the program. Business should be reimbursed for the costs it incurs in seeking out, training and employing initially unproductive workers, but it must also accept its responsibility to hire and promote Negroes equitably. Government at every level must set the example by making sure it is a model employer, with a revamping of civil-service promotion rules if necessary.

■ **Welfare:** *The goal of national policy should be a humane and radically simplified system that guarantees that no American will go without the minimum necessities of life.* For the immediate future, the government should focus its efforts on equalizing benefits under existing programs and extending them to the 75 per cent of the poor who are not now getting any help. The ultimate objective should be reform of the present structure to provide direct assistance to all the poor, based on their individual needs. Among the alternative reforms currently under discussion, the negative income tax, with its flat formula, would not take account of individual need, and an across-the-board family allowance simply would not provide enough for the truly destitute. A reformed welfare system should also include incentives to work, expanded day-care centers to enable welfare mothers to work, and birth-control counseling on a voluntary basis.

■ **Housing:** *National policy should promote the dispersal of Negroes from the ghetto into integrated city and suburban neighborhoods.* A dispersal rate of 500,000 per year would do no more than keep the ghettos from growing, but it would at least provide real alternatives for ghetto Negroes. The first requisite is a strong Federal fair-housing law—a measure that could not of itself accomplish dispersal but would be dramatic evidence of the national commitment. While dispersal goes on, the ghettos must be made livable; existing Federal programs should be expanded. In the long run, use of new technology and the increasing involvement of private capital should spur both rehabilitation of existing buildings and the construction of new low-cost units. "Sweat equity" projects and other home ownership plans should be expanded. Ultimately, the incentives provided by the rent-supplement program should be used to promote dispersal.

■ **Education:** *The over-all goal is quality integrated education.* This ultimately will mean the development of educational parks in the cities, the integration of suburban school districts and the elimination of the last vestiges of the dual school system in the South. Until these long-range objectives can be reached, existing ghetto schools must be radically improved. State school codes should be revised to permit an eleven-month school year with the summer emphasis on remedial teaching for pupils performing below grade level. Pre-school classes should begin at age 3—the age when many now feel children can begin real learning—for children in ghettos and other poverty areas, with emphasis on basic learning skills. Talented teachers should be rewarded by merit-pay increases to the equivalent of at least $15,000 in current (1967) dollars. Reforms in the school curriculum should include the teaching of Negro history—for whites as well as Negroes.

■ **Southern Development:** *To reduce the pressure on Negroes to move into the ghettos, national policy should be consciously directed at developing jobs and decent living conditions in the rural South.* Government subsidies and tax incentives should be used to encourage industrial development, particularly in poverty-stricken backwaters. Not only these devices, but the government's purchasing power should be used to insure that Southern industry hires and promotes Negroes in equitable numbers. Those who wish to stay on the land should be helped by the encouragement of marketing co-ops, by loans to set up truck farms and by technical assistance. The government must rid its own farm programs of discrimination.

■ **Health:** *A national effort must be made to raise health standards among Negroes to the levels enjoyed by whites.* The gap begins at birth, when Negro infants are nearly twice as likely to die as whites, and continues till death: the Negro's life expectancy is 61, the white man's 68. Neighborhood health centers should be developed to provide diagnostic services, outpatient care, emergency treatment and periodic medical and dental checkups for children. The "medicaid" program—medical care for the poor—should be expanded with uniform minimum standards of eligibility and benefits set by Congress.

Almost a quarter of a century ago, Gunnar Myrdal, in his monumental study "An American Dilemma," counseled wisely that the problem of the Negro—and its ultimate solution—lay in the heart of white America. He was right, of course; no program of any dimension can even be begun unless white America can muster the resolve for the task.

The task is plain. The means are at hand. The time to begin is now.